WALKER'S
HIBERNIAN MAGAZINE:
OR,
Compendium of Entertaining Knowledge,
For JUNE, 1794.

☞ *WE have embelliſhed this Month's Magazine with a lively Repreſentation of the glorious Victory obtained by the Britiſh Fleet under the Command of Earl Howe, over that of the French Republic, on the memorable 1ſt of June,* 1794.

As no Account can be more ſatisfactory than that given by Authority, we ſubjoin the Letter of Earl Howe, publiſhed in the London Gazette Extraordinary of the 10th *of June, inſtant.*

Queen Charlotte, at Sea, June 2, 1794.
Uſhant, E. half N. 140 *leagues.*

To Philip Stevens, Eſq;

SIR,

THINKING it may not be neceſſary to make a more particular report of my proceedings with the fleet, for the preſent information of the lords commiſſioners of the admiralty, I confine my communications chiefly, in this diſpatch, to the occurrences when in preſence of the enemy yeſterday.

Finding, on my return off Breſt on the 19th paſt, that the French fleet had, a few days before, put to ſea; and receiving on the ſame evening, advices from rear-admiral Montague, I deemed it requiſite to endeavour to form a junction with the rear-admiral as ſoon as poſſible, and proceeded immediately for the ſtation on which he meant to wait for return of the Venus.

But, having gained very credible information, on the 21ſt of the ſame month, whereby I had reaſon to ſuppoſe the French fleet was then but a few leagues farther to weſtward, the courſe before ſteered was altered accordingly.

On the morning of the 28th, the enemy were diſcovered far to windward, and partial actions were engaged with them that evening and the next day.

The weather gage having been obtained, in the progreſs of the laſt mentioned day, and the fleet being in a ſituation for bringing the enemy to cloſe action the 1ſt inſt. the ſhips bore up together for that purpoſe, between ſeven and eight o'clock in the morning.

The French, their force conſiſting of twenty ſix ſail of the line, oppoſed to his majeſty's fleet of twenty-five (the Audacious having parted company with the ſternmoſt ſhip of the enemy's line, captured in the night of the 28th) waited for the action, and ſuſtained the attack with their cuſtomary reſolution.

In leſs than an hour after the cloſe action commenced in the centre (ſee the plate) the French admiral, engaged by the Queen Charlotte, crowded off, and was followed by moſt of the ſhips of his van in condition to ſail after him, leaving with us about ten or twelve of his crippled or totally diſmaſted ſhips, excluſive of one ſunk during the engagement. The Queen Charlotte had then loſt her fore-top-maſt, and the main-top-maſt fell over the ſide very ſoon after.

The greater number of the other ſhips of the Britiſh fleet were, at this

time, ſo much diſabled or widely ſeparated, and under ſuch circumſtances with reſpect to thoſe ſhips of the enemy in a ſtate for action, and with which the firing was ſtill continued, that two or three, even of their diſmantled ſhips, attempting to get away under a ſpritſail ſingly, or ſmaller ſail raiſed on the ſtump of the foremaſt could not be detained.

Seven remained in our poſſeſſion, one of which, however, ſunk before the adequate aſſiſtance could be given to the crew: but many were ſaved.

The Brunſwick, having loſt her mizen maſt in the action, and driſted to leeward of the French retreating ſhips, was obliged to put away large to the northward from them. Not ſeeing her chaſed by the enemy in that predicament, I flatter myſelf ſhe may arrive in ſafety at Plymouth. All the other twenty four ſhips of his Majeſty's fleet, re aſſembled later in the day; and I am preparing to return with them as ſoon as the captured ſhips of the enemy are ſecured, for Spithead.

The material injury to his Majeſty's ſhips, I underſtand, is confined principally to their maſts and yards, which I conclude will be ſpeedily replaced.

I have not yet been able to collect regular accounts of the killed and wounded in the different ſhips. Captain Montague is the only officer of his rank who fell in the action. The numbers of both deſcriptions I hope will prove ſmall, the nature of the ſervice conſidered; but I have the concern of being to add, on the ſame ſubject, that admiral Graves has received a wound in the arm, and that rear admirals Bowyer and Paſly, and captain Hutt of the Queen, have each had a leg taken off; they are, however, I have the ſatisfaction to hear, in a favourable ſtate under thoſe misfortunes. In the captured ſhips the numbers of killed and wounded appear to be very conſiderable.

Though I ſhall have, on the ſubject of theſe different actions with the enemy, diſtinguiſhed examples hereafter to report, I preſume the determined bravery of the ſeveral ranks of officers and the ſhips companies employed under my authority, will have been already ſufficiently denoted by the effect of their ſpirited exertions; and, I truſt, I ſhall be excuſed for poſtponing the more detailed narrative of the other tranſactions of the fleet thereon, for being communicated at a future opportunity; more eſpecially as my firſt captain, ſir Roger Curtis, who is charged with this diſpatch, will be able to give the farther information the Lords Commiſſioners of the Admiralty may at this time require. It is incumbent on me, nevertheleſs, now to add, that I am greatly indebted to him for his councils as well as conduct in every branch of my official duties: And I have ſimilar aſſiſtance, in the late occurrences, to acknowledge of my ſecond captain, ſir Andrew Douglas.

I am, &c.

HOWE.

P. S. The names and force of the captured French ſhips with the fleet is tranſmitted herewith.

Liſt of French Ships captured on the 1ſt day of June, 1794.

	Guns.		Guns.
La Juſte -	80	Sans Pareille	80
Le Northumb.	74	L'Achille	80
L'Amerique	74	L'Impetueux	74

And Le Vengeur of 74, ſunk almoſt immediately on being taken poſſeſſion of.

N. B. The ſhip ſtated to have been captured on the evening of the 28th of laſt month, is ſaid by the priſoners to be the Revolutionaire of 120 guns.

Trial of R. V. Perry, Eſq. For forcibly taking away Clementina Clerke, from a Boarding School at Briſtol, and marrying her againſt her conſent, contrary to the Statute.

THIS indictment was opened by Mr. Griffith, and amplified by Mr. Nathaniel Bond, who, diveſting his mind of prejudice, prefaced his ſtatement of facts by a very handſome exordium, and, after charging the priſoner with taking the child and the property of a worthy meritorious family by force from ſchool—a child he had ſcarcely ſeen before, and dragging her to Scotland,

land, where they underwent the cold ceremony of a marriage, he called a clerk in the prerogative court of Canterbury, who produced the probate of the will and codicil of George Ogilvie, whereby it appeared and was admitted, that Mrs Perry, late Clementina Clerke, was entitled to a very large estate in Jamaica as tenant for life, with limitations to her heirs.

A Mr. Molcombe then proved that Mr. Ogilvie was possessed of this estate.

Mrs Barbara Ogilvie said, she married the late Mr. Ogilvie, and knew Miss Clerke, his niece, about four months before she went to Miss Mills at Bristol, where she conducted her and left her; that she was then about ten years old, that is, in the year 1785 or 1786. But speaking to this fact by report only, it was resisted as insufficient; when a certificate of her baptism was produced, as procured by George Stuart, from the registry at Banff, dated April 29, 1776. This, however, being no proof of her birth, was of no weight. Mrs Ogilvie then said, her husband died in January 1791, and Mrs Perry's father in February following; that she knew, very little of William Gordon, who paid her school bills.

Miss Mills said she kept a boarding-school for young ladies in Bristol, and that Miss Clerke had been with her about one year and a quarter—that she was modest, amiable, and obliging, timid and not forward—that she heard of the death of her father by a letter, which Miss Mills opened, and was much agitated—that on the 18th of March, 1791, a chaise came to her door, with a man in livery, who delivered her a note written in the name of Mr. Gordon, requesting her to send Miss Clerke to his house, where some relation from Scotland had lately arrived; that Miss Clerke seemed very indifferent about going, and asked her and her sister to go with her, which for very trifling reasons they declined; that her servant Betty Baker left her the day before this, and never returned, leaving behind her all her clothes and a quarter's wages; that she went to live with the prisoner, to whose house Miss Clerke was carried, instead of Mr. Gordon's. Here, on being asked what she thought of the state of Miss Clerke's mind at the time she went into the chaise, as to her going to Mr. Gordon's an objection in point of law was made to any answer she might make, as it might influence the jury to think that an inference of continued force was practised on Miss Clerke, whom Mr. Bond declined to examine, on the idea that she would not be examined for the prisoner. This produced an ingenious and elaborate argument between the counsel, in which Mr. Erskine and Mr. Fielding poured forth the most affecting torrent of eloquence, that brought tears into their own, and all the eyes in court. This argument being closed in favour of the prisoner, William Gordon said, the note written in his name was not his hand-writing; that Miss Clerke had been once at his house, but he had no acquaintance with her uncle. On being asked whether he said any thing in a coffee-house or other public place about Mr. Ogilvie, which Mr. Bond had stated he had, with very great imprudence, his answer was rejected.

John Jones said, he was a postilion at the White Hart, Bristol; that in March, 1791, he drove a post-coach to Stoke's Cross Turnpike, where he staid one hour and a half, then turned back. Some man called to him by the Full Moon, to take up at Mr. Perry's where he stopped about a minute; that a lady then got into the coach with her servant and three gentlemen, all of whom he drove to Newport, eighteen miles from Bristol, and the road to Gloucester; that they there changed horses while they sat in the coach, and he saw them go off the other stage.

On his cross-examination by Mr. Fielding, he said, they all appeared very cheerful and happy, galloping helter skelter, to be married in Scotland.

Joseph Paisley, commonly called the Blacksmith Parson, now appeared; a huge mass of flesh and blood, brimful of brandy, clothed in black, and dismal in his aspect. He said, he lived at Gretna-Green, where he married Mr. Perry and Mrs. Perry about three years

ago. He then produced the certificate he had granted, which Mr. Perry had loſt on the road, and was afterwards found by a ſtranger in the country. It was filled up by Mr. Perry, who wrote his own name and Miſs Clerke's. He ſaid further, that Mr. and Mrs. Perry's heads were bound up in conſeque ce of their being overturned in their coach, but that they appeared like other people; that they behaved well enough, and he ſaw nothing amiſs in them. The marriage ceremony is very ſhort, and the parties ſtaid with him about an hour.

Mary Thatcher, late Miſs S. Mills, ſaid ſhe went to Mr. Gordon's, but Miſs Clerke had not been there; that ſhe went near Scotland with Mr. Weeks the tavern-keeper at Briſtol, and her young brother; and met a chaiſe in Cumberland-Common, in which were Mr. Perry, Miſs Clerke, Betty Baker, and another man; that ſhe called out, "for God's ſake, Miſs Clerke, ſpeak!" when Mr. Perry held up a piſtol to her face, and ſaid, there is no Miſs Clerke here, but Mrs. Perry is:" that Weeks ſaid, Perry, let Miſs Mills ſpeak a word to her; when he anſwered, "Not one word, by God—drive on! that the road was narrow, and they were obliged to drive contrary ways; that ſhe, Miſs Mills, came back to Briſtol, and had no knowledge of Mr. Perry, nor did ſhe believe that he and Miſs Clerke ever knew each other before; and that ſhe purſued them in Flanders.

Mary Baker was produced, but taken away in a fainting fit.

The evidence on the part of the proſecution being cloſed—

Mr. Erſkine ſaid, the moſt material queſtion, though involved in the former arguments, remained undecided; namely, the propriety of admitting the evidence of Mrs. Perry. It was not, he ſaid, the privilege of Cæſar's wife to be unſuſpected, but of all our wives. It was indecent even to think Mrs. Perry would deviate from truth, and therefore he called Mrs. Perry, who ſat angelically, like "Patience on a monument," in the front of the court, between Mr. Erſkine, Mr. Mills, Mr. Fielding, and Mr. Dawes; and ſhe being ſworn, another argument equally ingenious and elaborate took place on the admiſſibility of her evidence as a wife *de jure*, which being moſt clearly determined in the affirmative, this charming lady roſe, like Aurora with the morn, "clad in cerulean blue," with all the ſweetneſs of innocence, conjugal affection, and pleaſing confidence. [*Here a loud cry in the hall from above a thouſand people, "Perry for ever!"*]

Mrs. Perry ſaid, ſhe *voluntarily* left Miſs Mills in March, 1791; that ſhe *knew* who ſent the chaiſe, and that ſhe was going to Mr. Perry's. The plan of elopement was ſettled between Mr. Perry and *herſelf*; Betty Baker waited at Mr. Perry's by her deſire; that ſhe had often ſeen Mr. Perry, and though he had conceived an affection for her, ſhe did not think it was for *lucre*; and that two letters had been ſent her by Mr. Perry, propoſing the plan of elopement, one of which ſhe anſwered; and that when the chaiſe was at the door, Miſs Mills aſked her, whether ſhe ſhould go along with her, when ſhe ſaid yes, to avoid ſuſpicion; that ſhe underſtood perfectly well ſhe was going to Gretna Green to be married to Mr. Perry. That the thoughts on the ſubject of her and Mr. Perry were communicated through the medium of a ſervant; and that ſhe was perfectly ſatisfied in every reſpect.

On her croſs-examination, which was thought indelicate, ſhe ſaid, ſhe had known Mr. Perry about a month before ſhe left Miſs Mills, and had often ſeen him in her walks with her ſchool-mates to the Down, when ſhe conceived a mutual affection for him; but that ſhe had no converſation with him till ſhe was in his houſe.

Here a cavil aroſe between Mr. Erſkine and Mr. Bond, on the indelicacy of the latter croſs-examining this captivating lady at all, from whoſe almoſt divine lips truth came mended from her tongue.

Here the evidence being cloſed, or rather *clenched* for the priſoner, the Recorder, Mr. Gibbs,—(who conducted himſelf moſt ably and candidly on the occaſion, the firſt ſince his entrance on his

his new office)—addreſſed the Jury, ſaying, "That, independently of Mrs. Perry's evidence, the whole that they had heard before was ſo ſlight, that they could not heſitate a moment in finding the priſoner Not Guilty."

They therefore found him NOT GUILTY accordingly, to the ſatisfaction of every one preſent; and in the moment their verdict was known, the loudeſt acclamations ever heard, burſt forth in the hall, which laſted half an hour.

The horſes were taken from Mr. and Mrs. Perry's carriage, and they were drawn by the people to their houſe at Clifton; and their counſel conducted from court up Broad-ſtreet, with ten or a dozen hearty cheers.

The bells rang on the occaſion throughout the city.

Obſervations on the Character of Henry the Fourth of France, ſtyled the Great: With a beautiful Copper-Plate repreſenting a memorable Incident in the Life of that illuſtrious Prince.

HENRY the fourth, deſervedly ſtyled the great, was long and juſtly the object of his people's veneration; and nothing leſs than a reſolution, which at once ſubverted the throne, the church, and the ſtate, could have thrown down the ſtatue of this illuſtrious monarch, which was once the ornament of the Pont Neuf at Paris. Nature had beſtowed all her advantages upon him with the utmoſt profuſion. His ſtature was ſo happy, and his limbs formed with ſuch proportion, as conſtitutes not only what is called a well made man, but indicates ſtrength, vigour, and activity. His complexion was animated: all the lineaments of his face had that agreeable vivacity, which forms a ſweet and happy phyſiognomy, and perfectly ſuited to that engaging eaſineſs of manners, which, though ſometimes blended with majeſty, never loſt the graceful affability, and eaſy gaiety, ſo natural to this great prince. He was candid, ſincere, grateful, compaſſionate, generous, wiſe, penetrating; in a word, endued with the greateſt and moſt amiable qualities. He loved all his ſubjects as a father, and the whole ſtate as the head of a family; and this diſpoſition it was, that recalled him, even from the midſt of his pleaſures, to the care of rendering his ſubjects happy. Hence proceeded his readineſs in conceiving, and his induſtry in perfecting, a great number of the moſt uſeful regulations. In fine, there were no conditions, employments, or profeſſions, to which his reflections did not extend; and that with ſuch clearneſs and penetration, that the changes he had projected could not be overthrown by the death of their author. 'It was his deſire,' he ſaid, 'that glory might influence his laſt years, and make them at once uſeful to the world, and acceptable to God.' His was a mind, in which the ideas of what was great, uncommon, and beautiful, ſeemed to riſe ſpontaneouſly. Theſe great qualities, however, were contraſted by great faults. 'Theſe,' ſays his celebrated miniſter, the duke of Sully, in his admirable memoirs, 'were his paſſion for women; his attachment to gaming; his gentleneſs, which often carried him to weakneſs; and his propenſity to every kind of pleaſure. I have neither diſguiſed the faults they made him commit, the fooliſh expences into which they led him, nor the time they made him waſte; but I have likewiſe obſerved, to do juſtice to both ſides, that all theſe have been greatly exaggerated by his enemies. If he were, as they ſay, a ſlave to women, yet they never regulated his choice of miniſters, decided the deſtiny of his ſervants, or influenced the deliberations of his council. As much may be ſaid in extenuation of all his other faults. In fine, what he has done is ſufficient to ſhow, that the good and bad in his character had no proportion to each other; and that ſince honour and fame have always had power enough to tear him from pleaſure, we ought to acknowledge them to be his great and ruling paſſions.'

The annexed plate repreſents a memorable paſſage in the life of this prince. He had ſeduced the daughter of an officer at Rochelle, which had diſgraced a worthy family, and given great offence to the people of that city.

Juſt

Juſt before a battle, when prayers were going to be read in front of the line, a proteſtant miniſter, his chaplain, took the liberty to remonſtrate to him, that he could not expect that the Divine Being would favour his arms, if he did not previouſly aſk pardon for this offence, and repair the ſcandal which he had given by the moſt public ſatisfaction. The king heard this remonſtrance with the greateſt humility, fell upon his knee, implored forgiveneſs of God, and deſired all to witneſs his contrition, and his ſolemn aſſurance that, if providence ſpared his life, he would repair, as much as poſſible, the injury he had done. All who were preſent at this uncommon ſcene, were melted into tears; and there was ſcarce one who would not have devoted his life for a prince, who thus evinced ſuch inſtant readineſs to do juſtice to his inferiors.

The Life of M. Dumourier.

THE following is the brief but comprehenſive ſketch of M. Dumourier's life, made yet more intereſting as being written by himſelf, for few men have filled a larger ſpace in human attention, and fewer ſtill can have agitated more the various and oppoſite emotions of hope and fear, of admiration and contempt!

The turn of popular ſentiment M. Dumourier would fain think originated in envy, merely at his ſoldierly fame; and the attempts to drive him from the theatre of the world, he imputes to a mean wiſh of obtruding meaner actors. Force and delicacy of expreſſion are not wanting in the many happy accompliſhments of this gentleman, and here he ſays, with peculiar adroitneſs, "I ſubſcribe to be a ſpectator only in a corner of the pit, but will not allow that the ſcene has been quitted with diſhonour!"

This he makes a radical poſition; and thence he draws two deductions of conduct, viz.

The firſt to publiſh his memoirs.

The ſecond, more extraordinary is to preſent them in perſon to the emperor.

From this ſpontaneous interview M. Dumourier imagines one of three inferences muſt reſult: the firſt, apparent conſciouſneſs of innocence; the ſecond, a confidence in the emperor's juſtice, no leſs manifeſt: the third, that if there be any accuſation againſt him, he will then meet and overthrow it! or if he ſhould be condemned untried, that then he may morally hope to profit by adverſity, and go leſs undepurated to his grave! that theſe his memoirs will aſſert his character; and that of the regret which muſt follow, ſome of it may betide even the emperor himſelf!

The ſketch of his own life is this:—We ſhall tranſlate it literally.

Sketch of Dumourier's Life.

The following month (April 1794) my age will be fifty-five.—Is it imaginable that I can wiſh, by concealment perhaps ſcandalous, to get a few days more uneaſineſs, of bitterneſs and ſhame?

I was born at Cambray in the year 1739. My family were noble but not rich. My father was a very knowing, a very virtuous man. My education was right both as to ſtrictneſs and extent; and when eighteen years old, in 1757, I went into the army as my trade. There I was diſtinguiſhed without delay! When I was twenty-two years old I had the military order (La Croix de St. Louis), and my wounds, like my years, were twenty-two!

In 1763 was the peace. Then I began to travel with a view to languages and manners; for moral philoſophy was ever my favourite theme. Thence the vagabond French fugitives have imagined that I was occupied as a ſpy for the then adminiſtration of France; as if, had there been in Greece ſuch vermin as them (Les Marquis), they would not have ſaid the ſame of Pythagoras and of Plato!

In 1768 I was recalled from Spain and ſent to Corſica, where I was raiſed to the rank of colonel, after the two campaigns of 1768 and 1769.

In 1770 the duc de Choiſeul ſent me to Poland, miniſter to the confederates; and there, in two campaigns, and in negociations,

J. Rose. Sculp.

Submission of Henry IV of France, to the Remonstrance of his Chaplain.

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negociations, of no ſmall magnitude, I was the leader, with various ſucceſs. As the affairs of Poland were ill-conſidered, their revolution ended ill!—partition of that country enſued.

In 1772 the marquis de Montignard, the war miniſter, employed me in his department; and at the end of that year ſent me, by the order of Louis XV. to Sweden, on the revolution which had happened.

This employment, on which I had my orders directly from the king himſelf, was known to the duc d'Acquillon, the miniſter for foreign affairs. He had me arreſted at Hamburg, and conducted to the Baſtille in 1773!

Louis XV. naturally weak, and incidentally weakened more by his miſtreſs La Dubarry, and his miniſter, diſgraced the virtuous Montignard! concealed the part he himſelf had taken in ſending me to Sweden, and left me expoſed to a criminal proceſs, which the duc d'Acquillon had began; but doubting of its being tenable, had not dared to try. At ſix months end I was exiled to Caen for three months!

In 1774 Louis XV. died. D'Acquillon was diſgraced. I wrote to Louis XVI. deſiring to be removed from Caen to the Baſtille, and to be tried. The three miniſters, De Muy, De Vergennes, and De Sartines, were my judges, and they atteſted the hardſhip of my caſe, that I had been perſecuted unjuſtly.

As colonel I was then ſent to Liſle with the new military manœuvres the baron de Perſch had brought from Pruſſia; with a project of reform for the river Lys; and another plan, then in contemplation, for a port at Ambleteuſe.—On theſe occupations I paſſed 1774 and 1775.

In 1776 I was king's commiſſary with the chevalier d'Oiſy, a captain of ſhip, and a field marechal de Roziere, a celebrated military engineer, on a ſurvey of the channel, for the conſtruction of a new port.

The year 1777 I lived in the country, eighty miles from Paris. It is the only year of repoſe I have ever had. At the end of it there happened the American war, as I had foretold; and I was accordingly ſent for by the war miniſter, M. De Montbarez.

In 1778 I had the command at Cherbourg, which appeared to me moſt favourable for a port on the channel; and aided by the zeal, the activity, and the known character of the duc d'Harcourt, who had the government of the province, we decided the point, above one hundred years diſputed, viz. that for a military port Cherbough was preferable to La Hogue. — From that time to 1789 I was wholly ocupied there, and was never more than three times at Paris.

Cherbourg, when I found it, had but 7,300 inhabitants! when I left it the population was 20,000.

The vagabond French fugitives have dared to add to the former calumny of being a ſpy, another imputed infamy, viz. of intrigues in the war office! though in the whole period of a dozen years, and all my journeys taken together, my ſtay at Paris did not amount to ſix months, and during that time I had very little reſort to Verſailles.

Thus, to recapitulate, the account is ſo—

22 Wounds in battle,
6 Campaigns in Germany,
2 Ditto in Corſica,
2 Ditto in Poland,
Some important negociations.
The creation of a town and port.

And twenty years ſpent in travel and in ſtudy of languages and politics.

And he then adds a wiſh, that every man who by the luck of birth, of wealth, of place, may be called to ſupport the fame and welfare of a country, may render himſelf qualified by ſimilar ſtudies and by ſimilar labours! and then revolutions would be no more.

Dumourier thus continues,

Perſonally I have gained nothing.—I was among the field marechals. I was ſure of being lieutenant-general, of having a red ribband, and a command. I had 20,000 livres (800l. ſterling) a year. This was enough for me. But I ſaw the ſtate of France! diſhonoured without, ruined within; a deſtiny, of which miniſters, by my memorials, had been long time forewarned!

The

The year 1789 was glorious by the revolution!—Where I was it was altogether rational and mild, for, without trenching upon liberty, every exceſs of liberty into licentiouſneſs was puniſhed by law, even unto death *(Legalement punir de mort)*.

On the ſuppreſſion of the military commandants I went to Paris, there I made the revolution my ſtudy. The princes, by running away, had hurt the king's cauſe. The VETO I ſaw would be uſeleſs, and might be fatal. Though not a legiſlator, I endeavoured to undo it as far as I could!

In 1791 I had the command from Nantz to Bourdeaux. The war, a war of religion, then raged in the Vendee. The religioniſts were burning all before them. I ſaved every thing! I quitted all! till February 1792; when I was called to Paris, and named lieutenant-general, and miniſter for foreign affairs!

With the war they reproach me. It was inevitable. It had exiſted long before.

For the reſt, my opinion was for declaring war! The king was for it too! The king not only read my report to the aſſembly, but he corrected it! The corrections are in his own hand-writing! and his own ſpeech was written by himſelf!!

At three months end, confounded by the factions which raged, and failing of the king in council to ſanction two decrees, I wiſhed to retire: Retirement was refuſed. I changed the adminiſtration by the king's order, and I took the department of war.

But finding that the court had deceived me, I would not be the miniſter of intrigue! I foretold to Louis and his wife every evil which awaited them, and in three days I reſigned! The vagabond fugitives *(Les Emigres)* have ſaid that I was turned out. It is a lie—I reſigned my place, though Louis was urgent that it might be otherwiſe! though for two days together he oppoſed my reſignation! and though, when I departed, he mingled his tears with mine!

The war has been ſplendidly ſucceſsful to the French. If the French had ſhewn equal wiſdom and virtue, peace would have returned long ago! Louis would have lived! there had been no anarchy! but France had been glorious and happy in her conſtitution.

Such is the rapid ſketch of my exiſtence—a ſketch which may ſuffice, if I cannot finiſh the work and give it to the public. Adieu! my worthy friend. This is an important letter; and as ſuch it ſoothes me. Here it is, I wait without inquietude the wiſhes of the emperor and the deciſion of my fate! My character ſhall aſſert itſelf! and inſtead of weakening, ſhall ſtrengthen by miſhap. I ſhall be at all times myſelf!

"*Et je ſerai toujours Moi.*"

The Country Dance.

A Rural Picture.

ON a ſpacious lawn, bounded on every ſide by a profuſion of the moſt odoriferous flowering ſhrubs, a joyous band of villagers were aſſembled; the young men dreſt in green; youth, health, and pleaſure in their air, led up their artleſs charmers, in ſtraw hats, adorned with the ſpoils of Flora, to the ruſtic ſound of the tabor and pipe. Round the lawn, at equal intervals, were raiſed temporary arbours of branches of trees, in which refreſhments were prepared for the dancers; and between the arbours, ſeats of moſs for their parents, ſhaded from the ſun by green awnings, on poles, round which were twined wreaths of flowers, breathing the ſweets of the ſpring. The ſurpriſe, the gaiety of the ſcene, the flow of general joy, the ſight of ſo many happy people, the countenances of the enraptured parents, who ſeem to live anew again, the ſprightly ſeaſon of youth in their children, with the benevolent looks of the noble beſtowers of the feaſt, filled my eyes with tears, and my ſwelling heart with a ſenſation of pure yet lively tranſport, to which the joy of the courtly belles are mean.

A Hiſtory

A Hiſtory of the Stage.

[*Continued from our laſt, Page* 439.]

ARTS, ſciences, and even trade generally flouriſh with the theatre, and I think politeneſs: and why may not the drama be a great mark of a civilized nation? The Greeks and Romans were in their higheſt glory when the ſtage flouriſhed. I need not ſay that the theatre in England came in with the reformation, and the long reigned queen Elizabeth, whoſe great learning not only made her give it encouragement, but Sir Roger Naunton tells, that great queen tranſlated one of the tragedies of Euripides from the original Greek for her amuſement. Our immortal Shakeſpeare met reward from that illuſtrious princeſs, and her influence brought forth his inimitable genius to that high luſtre, where it will ſhine unrivalled to after ages, never once clouded but in the time of fanaticiſm and drear darkneſs of canting and hypocriſy. France was poring in the thick miſt, till Hardy their firſt poet, ſhewed dramatic light; then all branches of learning began to ſhine, improved their arts and arms, and warmed their wide ſpreading nation to glory, when conqueſt waited on their monarch, and victory covered him with laurels; till checked by the Britiſh lion. Ambition in great minds ſtands ranked in the line of virtue; but I think to bound it is more truly a virtue, as ſweet tongued Waller writes:

If the ſucceſsful troublers of mankind,
With laurel crown'd, ſo great applauſe do find,
Shall the vex'd world leſs honour yield to thoſe,
To ſtop their progreſs and their rage oppoſe?
Next to that power which to the ocean awe,
Is to ſet bounds, and give ambition law.

But let me ſet bounds to myſelf—As the ſtage flouriſhed in the reign of queen Elizabeth, and king James the firſt, with ſuch excellent dramatic poets, viz. Shakeſpeare, Ben Jonſon, Mainger, and many others, we may be well aſſured that the actors did not fall much ſhort of the writers. Nature is the ſame in every age. Taylor, Burbidge, Lowen, Hemmings, Condel, Allen, Maſon, Field, Tarlton, and others that performed in the plays of Shakeſpeare, Jonſon, &c. have their public praiſes in ſeveral cotemporary authors. Mr. Malta, in his preface to the *Jew of Malta* (a play acted before king Charles the firſt and his queen, at Whitehall, in the year 1633) writes, "that Mr. Maſon and Mr. Taylor performed their parts with that excellence that it was beyond conceiving." Sir Richard Baker in his chronicles of England, at the latter end of queen Elizabeth, after giving an account of the perſons in that reign, writes thus of three actors: "Excellency in the meaneſt thing deſerves remembrance—Richard Burbidge and Edward Allen, two ſuch actors as no age muſt ever look to ſee the like: and, to make their comedies compleat, Richard Charlton for the clown's part, never had his match, nor never will have."—What this writer calls the clown's part, were ſuch as Launcelot, in the *Merchant of Venice*; Touchſtone, in *As You Like It*; the Fool, in *King Lear*; and parts of the kind, which required perſons of infinite humour.

"The ſtage (ſays the Female Spectator) by its inſtitution, is the ſchool of virtue, and the ſcourge of vice: and whenever theſe noble purpoſes are defeated, it is no wonder that perſons of true ſenſe and honour chooſe to abſent themſelves and oblige their families to do ſo too."

So reaſonable an entertainment as the drama in its purity, muſt be in ſome ſort, a promoter to virtue; therefore every manager of a theatre ſhould make it his ſtudy to exhibit no other pieces but what aim to that end; and, by degrees, throw off the looſe drama, and conſtitute in its place thoſe, that the wiſeſt and moſt virtuous need not be aſhamed to partake of the innocent amuſement. I do not pretend to ſet up for a monitor; but every ſtage performer would find his account in reforming the ſtage as well as themſelves.

I do not mean this admonition to any particular theatre, but all in general, at home and abroad; for our plantations in America have been voluntarily viſited by ſome itinerants, Jamaica in particular. I had an account from a gentleman who was poſſeſſed of a large eſtate in the Iſland, that a company in the year 1733, came there, and cleared a large ſum of money; where they might have made moderate fortunes if they had not been too buſy with the growth of the country.

Actors in France as well as in England meet with reſpect, (if they endeavour to deſerve it) and are acceptable in the company of rank and figure in that polite nation; and though the clergy ſcrupled to give Moliere* the

N O T E.

* Moliere, the great comic poet of France, was eſteemed an excellent actor. He died in performing the part of the Hypochondriac in a comedy of his own writing, called "Le Malada Imaginaire," which is a part of a comedy in Engliſh, called "The Mother-in-Law," on the 17th of February, 1679, in his grand climacteric. The archbiſhop of Paris would not allow his body to be inhumed in conſecrated ground, which the king being informed of, ſent for the archbiſhop and expoſtulated with him; but he was an obſtinate churchman, and would not willingly condeſcend to his majeſty's perſuaſions. The king finding him unwilling to comply, deſired to know how many feet deep the holy ground reached? the biſhop replied, "About eight." "Well," replied the king, "I find there is no getting the better of your ſcruples; therefore let his grave be dug twelve feet, that's four below your conſecrated ground, and let them bury him there." The archbiſhop was obliged to comply; for Lewis the XIVth, would be obeyed. Moliere left behind him thirty-two dramatic pieces, which are held by the French in the higheſt eſteem. A French gentleman, in giving me his opinion of this excellent author, told me Moliere compoſed 37 pieces for the ſtage; and though he had left the world twice that number of years, all the dramatic writers of the rights of the church at his death bed, yet Lewis the XIVth, often converſed with him in his cloſet as well as in public.

I ſhall not ſay much more on this ſubject, and it may be I have ſaid too much already. For I am convinced, *Nil ſub ſole novum*, no, not even in faſhions; for what we receive for new, are only the old ones taking their courſe over again. The ſtage is the epitome of the great world, as Boileau has ſaid long ago.

Le monde a mon avis eſt comme une grand theatre, &c.

Now let us leave Greece, Rome, France, Britain, and the reſt of the world, and retire to Ireland, where no ſnake in the graſs will riſe to bite the unwary traveller, no blind-worm or adder to hiſs us into fears, viper or toad to moleſt our eyes, or noiſome ſpider to ſpread her venom, which, according to ſome of the ancient Iriſh bards, were baniſhed the iſland many ages before St. Patrick.

Ireland is one of the laſt in Europe where eſtabliſhed theatres were erected; yet I am aſſured one of the firſt whoſe bards or poets have celebrated in verſe the illuſtrious actions of their monarchs, nor any nation in the world where poetry and poets were in ſuch high eſteem. Every ancient and noble family had one in their houſhold, and their kings their Poet Laureats, as we have in England; but long before the Engliſh invaded Ireland. The poets had their ſeats in their great aſſembled triennial councils, which you may find by the following lines tranſlated from the original Iriſh by the ſame hand,

N O T E.

French nation had not produced twice as many comedies equal to his. Moſt of his comedies have given a foundation to our Engliſh dramatic writers; but none have met with more ſucceſs than the *Miſer* and the *Mock Doctor*, by Mr. Fielding.

Once

Once in three years the great convention ſat,
And for the public happineſs debate.

Mr. Ogilby the maſter of the revels in this kingdom (who had it from proper authority) informed Mr. Aſhbury, that plays had been often acted in the caſtle of Dublin, when Blount, Lord Mountjoy, was lord-lieutenant here in the latter end of the reign of Queen Elizabeth. And Mr. Aſhbury ſaw a bill for wax tapers, dated 7th September, 1601, (Queen Elizabeth's birth-day) for the play of *Gorboduc* done at the caſtle, one and twenty ſhilllings and two groats. But it is to be ſuppoſed they were gentlemen of the court that were the actors on this occaſion.

I cannot find any eſtabliſhed theatre in Dublin till the year 1635, when the Earl of Strafford was lord lieutenant of this kingdom, in the tenth year of the reign of king Charles the Firſt, John Ogilby, Eſq. then maſter of the revels, under the title of hiſtoriographer to his majeſty and maſter of the revels in the kingdom of Ireland, and I believe the firſt that wore the laſt title. This theatre was built by his directions in Werburgh-ſtreet, where the company continued to act till the unhappy rebellion broke out in the year 1641. The theatre was then ſhut up by the order of the Lords Juſtices, ſigned William Parſons, and John Borlace. We do not find any mention of a theatre in Dublin, till the year after the reſtoration 1661, which was built on the ſpot where the theatre now ſtands in Orange-ſtreet, commonly called Smock-alley; how it came by the laſt name may be eaſily gueſſed.

We can give little account of the theatre here from this time till after the revolution; all that can be given will be noted in the life of Joſeph Aſhbury, Eſq. —Playing was diſcontinued during the troubles between king William and James the ſecond; but when quiet and peace was reſtored, the theatre opened again with *Othello, Moor of Venice*—the part of Othello, by Mr. Wilks, this play was acted by officers about the caſtle. Mr. Aſhbury, Iago, only, for the company was not formed till three months after, when they began again with *Othello*, which was on March 23, 1691-2, the day of proclaiming the end of the Iriſh war.

Diſtinguiſhed characters in bills were not then in faſhion; they were printed in order according to the drama as they ſtood, not regarding the merit of the actor. As for example, in *Macbeth*, Duncan, king of Scotland, appeared firſt in the bill, though acted by an inſignificant perſon; and ſo every other actor appeared according to his dramatic dignity, all of the ſame ſize letter. But latterly I can aſſure my readers I have found it a difficult taſk to pleaſe ſome ladies as well as gentlemen, becauſe I could not find letters large enough to pleaſe them; and ſome were ſo very fond of elbow-room, that they would have ſhoved every body out but themſelves, as if one perſon was to do all, and have the merit of all, like generals of an army; ſuch a victory was gained by ſuch a king, and ſuch a prince, while the other officers and ſoldiers are forgot. But as Trim tells us in the *Funeral*; or *Grief A-la-mode*, 50,000 of ſuch raſcals as theſe will make an Alexander.

I ſhall leave this laſt quarter of a hundred of years to the memory of others, that I may the ſooner come to the concluſion of my little hiſtory. I have told you the firſt theatre was built in 1635, and the old Smock-Alley houſe in 1661, and now I ſhall proceed to the reſt as they ſtand at preſent.

In the year 1732, a theatrical booth was erected by Mrs. Violante an Italian lady, celebrated for ſtrength and agility, a qualification that does not render the fair ſex the leaſt more amiable; the ſtrength of the limbs which theſe ſort of undertakers expoſe, in my opinion is ſhockingly indecent; but her's were maſculinely indelicate, and were of a piece with the features of her face. I am informed, the ſhewing her limbs did not meet with the ſucceſs in this kingdom, as ſhe had found in her elder ſiſter, England: that lady's children delight in ſuch entertainments: Bull-

baiting, boxing, and prize-fighting, will draw to them all ranks of people, from the peer to the pedlar.

But to Mademoiſelle Violante: ſhe, finding her tumbling tireſome, fell into playing pantomime, another diſgrace to the drama. Mr. Barrington, Mr John Morris, and I think Mr. Beamſly, Miſs Woffington, Miſs Mackay, (afterwards Mrs. Mitchel) and many others came under her directions, and played ſeveral dramatic pieces with groſs entertainments, till ſtopped by the lord mayor of the city of Dublin; Mrs. Violante having no ſanction or proper authority to exhibit ſuch entertainments—the place was put to another uſe.

I ſhall take leave of Violante and her poſtures, and give it as my own opinion, that I think ſuch diverſions are below the dignity of the ſtage or humanity. Where can be the ſatisfaction, when death and danger attend it? I have the fate of lady Iſabella*, ever preſent to my memory at the mentioning of ſuch dangerous entertainments.

(To be continued.)

N O T E.

* The lady Iſabella was born in Italy, ſprung from a noble family in the city of Florence: ſhe was put into a nunnery at twelve years of age, in order to take the veil; but a poſture-maſter unluckily came to that city, gained her affections, and found means to carry her off, and married her; inſtructed her in his unſeemly, dangerous employment, (if we may call it ſo) and brought her to England, where lady Iſabella was greatly admired, for her poſtures and feats of activity. The laſt and fatal time of her performance ſhe was eight months gone with child; but the covetous huſband loved money ſo well, (as it is reported) that he would not allow her the neceſſary repoſe required in her condition, ſo that in one of her dances on a ſlack rope, ſhe fell on the ſtage, where the mother and infant newly born with the force of the fall, expired in a moment—fatal cataſtrophe! in the twenty firſt year of her age. This was the running account of the poor lady Iſabella, after her death, whoſe end was much lamented; for, notwithſtanding her diſreputable employment, ſhe was eſteemed as a woman of ſtrict virtue.

Oration on the Progreſs of Reaſon.

Delivered July 18, 1792, *at Cambridge, being the Day of Public Commencement. From the Maſſachuſett's Magazine.*

THERE are few ſubjects which at this day, are new, there are ſtill fewer capacities calculated to give an old topic the air and appearance of novelty. Law, phyſic, and divinity, on occaſions like this, have uſually been attended by a multitude of advocates. The ſcience of government has often been copiouſly diſcuſſed. Every nook and corner in the political world have been ranſacked for the materials of theſe occaſional performances.

Let us this day commemorate the nativity of reaſon, let us mark her progreſs from where ſhe firſt twinkled in an age of darkneſs. to where ſhe now ſhines with luſtre in the hemiſphere of philoſophy; let us view her while in warfare with the legions of ſuperſtition; while a deſponding priſoner to the paſſions of barbarity: let us view her while entangled in the net work of ſophiſtry; and follow her to exile when baniſhed from the preſence of royalty. Releaſed from her bondage, eſcaped from the oppreſſion of other ages, and other nations, may we congratulate ourſelves that in our own age, and in our own country, ſhe is at length eſtabliſhed a free, a friendly inhabitant.

By the aſſiſtance of reaſon, the nature of man and almoſt every thing around him, once apparently wrapt in myſtery inexplicable, has been ellucidated and explained—The exact boundary between right and wrong, falſity and reality, has been aſcertained—Fiction with all its retinue of impoſtors, that had travelled round the globe in diſguiſe, were by reaſon firſt detected, and at her tribunal convicted, and condemned. Miracles ſhe has unravelled, the abſurd hypotheſis of antiquity, their prodigies

prodigies and their wonders, are conſigned to the budgets of beggars and gypſies; like a ſkilful pilot ſhe has conducted the mind through immeaſurable tracts of intelligence, which its infant faculties could never have explored.

When Babel was deſtroyed, the human race, as we are told, were diſperſed and ſcattered over the earth; almoſt the whole intelligence moral or philoſophical, that had eſcaped the deluge, and arrived at Ararat in ſafety, muſt have fallen at the downfal of that great landmark of aſſociation. The conceptions of that uncultivated people, muſt have been narrow and confined, the only medium of their communication apparently broken down—The harmony of one univerſal language, exchanged for the multifarious jargon of hundreds, each man's tongue in an inſtant, became a ſtranger to the ear of his companion. At this period it ſeemed as if reaſon was preparing to take her flight from the abuſes of the world. How piteous, how deplorable, the condition of man, his mind, like the world on the firſt day of creation, without order or arrangement: his paſſions, wild and ferocious, were maſters of themſelves—releaſed from the bond of aſſociation, his heart was as the heart of a beaſt, though clothed with the form and feature of humanity, aided by the feeble power of intuition his ſenſes were the only guide, the only compaſs, to conduct him through a rough uncultivated world. At each avenue to his mind was ſtationed ſome howling Cerberus of appetite, that deafened his ſoul to the voice of inſtruction. In this condition he found himſelf on earth; but the why and the wherefore of exiſtence were enigmas beyond the reach of enquiry. Simple perception diſcovered effects, a chain of reaſoning was wanting to lead him to heaven in ſearch of an eternal cauſe.

Age after age eſcaped, and though reaſon was gradually progreſſive, yet, the period of its maturity was ſtill far diſtant; ideas became connected, effect was diſcovered, to be a dependent on cauſe, man became convinced that neither himſelf nor his companion could have originated the objects in his view. The ſtars, though he ſhould believe them the product of the mine, yet the very talleſt of his aſſociates could not have reached the ſky to plant them in their orbits. A being there muſt be ſome where who gave birth to creation; in ſearch of this, infant imagination dared not as yet to rove beyond the limits of ſight. The ſun, from the grandeur, from the majeſty of his countenance, was eaſily believed the ruler of the world, day and night, heat and cold, as they were intermediately his dependants, were thought to be ſubject to his will and controul, every phænomenon in his appearance intimated to them the terms on which they ſtood with their maker. The tranſit of a world was conſidered a mere blot of diſpleaſure on the countenance of their God.

Such were the conceptions of man while his reaſon was confined to the comparatively ſmall circuit of his ſenſes; when the earth was conſidered an extenſive plain, each individual ſtationed at its center, and his viſible horizon a circle that bounded the univerſe.

Let us now mark a period, when mankind were comparatively advanced and refined—reaſon was but juſt releaſed from the bondage of untutored paſſions, ſocieties were but newly formed, governments but lately eſtabliſhed, when ſhe became again ſubjected to that worſt, that bittereſt oppreſſion, the controul of kings. From Nimrod to Nero, and from him through the whole long line of his regal deſcendants, we have found them oppoſed to the priviliges of reaſon, to the rights and freedom of men. The conſtruction of human being, proves moſt clearly, he never was intended for ſovereignty. Not a man is there on earth, who is not too noble to be a ſlave, yet too ſmall to be a monarch; the power of a ſovereign, has almoſt invariably been coupled with the will of a tyrant. In vaſſalage the feelings are depreſſed below the dignity of nature: at the moment they are let looſe by prerogative, they ſwell to a ſize too unwieldy for management. The orbit of a ſingle world is but a priſon to his ambition; he no ſooner becomes a

monarch

monarch than he ſighs to be a god. Ancient kings conſidered the nations as a theatre, erected for their own ſport or amuſement. Every act and ſcene in life, as the mere variances of a play, formed to gratify their whims and their humours; combat in couples was a paltry mimicry of tragedy; nations muſt be embroiled, millions maſſacred, to give grandeur and elegance to the ſcene. In this ſtate of depreſſion, man had neither the courage nor the power to think for himſelf. The projects of his mind were ſquared and compaſſed by the notions of his ſovereign. Weakened and oppreſſed by temporal uſurpation, he was now eaſily ſubjected to ſpiritual impoſition. The bull was confederated with the edict, to deſtroy the feeble powers of reaſon—under the ſurplice and tiara was engendered a ſcheme of miſchief that for ages fettered the world in ignorance. The prince whoſe mind was employed in ſomething more amuſing to himſelf, than the cultivation of knowledge, was cautious to ſuppreſs every effort in genius to riſe above the low degraded level of his own conceptions. The pope, whoſe juriſdiction was grounded on the ignorance of mankind, was buſied in darkening the world, to increaſe the ſplendour of his own authority—a feigned commiſſion from St. Peter gave ſanction to his oppreſſions, and the name of juſtice to crimes of the deepeſt malignity—the keys on his girdle, thoſe pretended emblems of power, to open the gateway to heaven, ſerved to lock up in ignorance and error the nobleſt faculties of the ſoul—conſcience was placed under guardianſhip, kingdoms, principalities, and powers were ſubjected to the dominion of that conſecrated triple-crowned potentate of creation. The human mind thus incumbered and oppreſſed, its powers of criticiſm dormant and unexerciſed, was open to every ſpecies of the vileſt impoſition; the ſilly logic of Ariſtotle was implicitly received as the only leading ſtring to truth; every poſition was falſe or abſurd that bore not the teſt of his catagories and ſyllogiſms. To demonſtration he proved, that the very air we breath, and the firmament that covers us, were ſolid as adamant; and becauſe the unfortunate Tycho allowed ſpace in the heavens for planets to revolve, he was condemned as an heretic to true philoſophy. Ariſtarchus, Copernicus, and Gallileo, affronted their tutelar gods for daring to believe that the long reputed motion of the ſun was in fact the rightful property of earth. Theſe ſyſtems of falſe logicians and bigoted philoſophers moſt powerfully obſtructed the advancement of reaſon—for two thouſand years, the mind was confined in its operations to rule and to form—its infant faculties were ſtripped of all the little diſcernment they inherited from nature; inſtinct and intuition, without the aſſiſtance of ſyllogiſm, were declared unable to determine even their own exiſtence—not a being was authorized to think, who thought not agreeably to eſtabliſhed formularies. At this period credulity was open mouthed, yet ſo managed and tutored by the artful doctriniſts of the times, as to be wholly inacceſſible to any thing but abſurdity—their ſyſtems of religion were crowded with ſtory, alluſion, fable, miracle, and all the paltry ſtuff which infatuated imagination could ſuggeſt.

The head, once crazed by being turned, feels a giddineſs for a time even after its motion has ceaſed. And though reaſon by gradual accretions of ſtrength had become too potent for the ſport of ſophiſters, and the more daring outrages of tyrants, yet the day of her rejoicing was not yet arrived, her perfection, her victory were reſerved for the age in which, my friends, we have the felicity to live—the loſſes of centuries by the work of a few years ſeems to be wholly repaired—this country, from the beginnig of its civilization, to the preſent period of refinement, has exhibited a moſt wonderful experiment in the world of philoſophy. It has proved the immenſe ſtretch of exertion, of which the powers of the mind are ſuſceptible. Our anceſtors, a few whoſe ſouls were too active to be enſlaved, fled to this land as an aſylum, where conſcience might live in ſecurity—they were as a ſpark from the conflagration in England, blown hither by the breath of heaven to enkindle a

flame

flame of intelligence, that at one day should illume the world. British oppressions, with all its infernal retinue, came commissioned by a monarch to extinguish the blaze, and slaughter its guardians. Ere their embassy was compleated, the scourge of Providence hurried them from our territory.

No longer borne down, by the incumbrance of royalty, we have chosen for ourselves, a system of government dictated by reason, a government that is calculated to preserve the happiness of our nation, the rights and freedom of men. Our liberties as in ancient days, are neither the subject of charter or grant, nor can they be bequeathed as a legacy among the goods and chattels of a sovereign. As in monarchies, we are not subject of course to the dominion of a prince, whose right to govern is dependant on his pedigree.—We now are not, and I trust in God never again shall be reduced to the humiliating necessity of clothing our nation in sable, at the exit of a tyrant; or of shouting with rapture, at the coronation of a fool. In our government the quality of blood, is not the smallest apology for vacancy of head or hardness of heart. The man who is most virtuous; the man who is most wise, and whose exertions for his country's welfare have been most conspicuous, will be raised to authority by the voice of his countrymen, though not a single particle of royalty ever floated in his veins, though not one of his ancestors, ever invaded a nation and pillaged its freedom.

Unrestricted by the silly maxim in British policy, we dare, we will indulge the full scope of discussion and enquiry; the eye of reason can neither be blurred by prejudice, nor dazzled by the splendour of court authority.

The chief ruler of our land, though not inferior to any potentate on earth, is not yet removed from the rank of man, and like the rest of mortals, is consequently subject to error and wrong. His virtues, the tongue of slander dare never profane; for his errors, he himself is responsible; there is no bulwark of ministry, to defend him against the censure of his constituents. His exertions for the welfare, not a mere fiction in government, will for ever insure him the support of his country.

Our laws, gradually purified from the corruption of monarchic codes, exhibit the strongest features of wisdom and rationalty. The absurdities of the corsinad combat and ordeal, are no where to be found in our collection—we try not the goodness of the heart by the firmness of the skin, nor dare we make a blasphemous appeal to heaven, for a decision in our controversies. But never shone with such lustre the wisdom of our legislatures, as when they broke down that absurd discrimination in colour, which so long disturbed the equilibrium of general felicity; when they discountenanced that inhuman, barbarous traffic, that drew into misery and wretchedness, millions of our fellow mortals, a race of beings who though in feature and complexion less delicate, stand on the same level with ourselves, in the system of creation. Here suffer me to express a wish and hope that our general government may ere long appease the upbraiding of humanity, by declaring that our tawny brethren in the west, have still a right of residence in their native soil. May it not be said of our country, that a single inhabitant on its territory has known oppression. May it not be said of our country, it has sanctioned injustice, cruelty, and extortion, yea it has stolen from our brethren a right which God and nature granted. Our religion is of that kind which sprang not from troubled passion and distracted brain, it had its nativity in heaven, and to that abode, will it safely conduct every one of its adherents—superstition, whose desolating routine but a few years since, crossed our country in blood, is now chained down and confined to the solitary regions of the earth. Blessed with the light of christianity, we most cordially pity and fain would relieve from his error, the Pagan whose gods are as senseless as the steel that formed them. The eye of reason looks down, with a most sovereign compassion, on the poor deluded pilgrim, while crouching beneath a shed, that covers but the mouldering skeleton of an impostor.

But

But the revolution which we have ſeen, my friends, in our own country, was not confined to a few ſtates or a ſingle nation; it was the beginning of a change that is rapidly ſpreading itſelf, to every corner of the world. France, but four years ſince, in every part of her kingdom exhibited the ſtrongeſt traits of ancient abſurdity. Old inſtitutions yet exiſted, which had their origin at a time, when the ſoldier and his ſword, were alike ſuſceptible—her people were enlightened, yet theſe mementos of her former barbarity were ſuffered to remain—their queen, but woman, was extolled to the dignity of angel—their king, ſomething leſs than a man, was adored and revered as a God. Their laws, never formed to guarantee the rights of a noble people, ſerved but to bind the ſubject in homage and fealty eternally to his prince. Their clergy a ſet of ſubtile hypocritical monſters, within the ſecret purlieus of a convent, were mixing poiſons to diffuſe through the community. Their eſtates, purchaſed by maſſes and requiems, ſecured by art and chicanery, extended to every corner of the kingdom; their influence, their authority, was unbounded as their wickedneſs. Such was the ſtate of this kingdom when the genius of freedom firſt lighted on its ſhores: reaſon now aſſerted her privileges, power dared no longer withhold them from her poſſeſſion.

Their former government, that venerated fabric of ignorance, reared up by old Gallic tyrants, was pulled down and demoliſhed, monaſtic inſtitutions, with all their grants, charters, and preſcriptive titles, were overwhelmed—the rights of the biſhop, were diſcovered to be grounded on the wrongs they had done to mankind. Evils of every denomination, by a ſlow gradual progreſs, had reached the very vitals of the politic body; it was found to be incurable, and therefore better be deſtroyed than remain for ever an annoyance to the world.

At this period the age of chivalry ceaſed, and though a Burke may lament that nature appeared in her nakedneſs; yet to the view of reaſon, how much more comely and beautiful than when clad in the rags and tatters of her former apparel. In the hiſtory of the world, it will appear to poſterity wonderful, miraculous, that in an age of refinement, for five hundred years, in almoſt the largeſt metropolis of the world, there was ſuffered to ſtand, an awful cemetery, where monarchs buried their living ſubjects, under the name of Baſtile; a lofty monument built up over the family ſepulchre of thouſands.

But the day I predict is not far diſtant, when like this levelled battlement every prop and pillar of tyranny ſhall be cruſhed, when ſlaviſh monarchies and ſlaviſh hierarchies, ſhall be done away, when the lion ſhall dwell with the lamb and the leopard lie down with the kid—when nation ſhall no more liſt up ſword againſt nation; and the laſt, univerſal empire on earth, ſhall be the empire of reaſon and virtue.

On the Depravation of Morals, and diſregard of Religion, ſo prevalent at preſent.

O tempora! O mores!

"Yet nothing extenuate,
Nor ſet down ought in malice."

SHAKESPEARE.

THE declenſion of the two greateſt commonwealths that are mentioned in hiſtory, the Athenian and Roman, is generally aſcribed to the faction of the nobles, and to the corruption of the commonalty. Whilſt the people were induſtrious and temperate, they were free, while they were free, they were the arbiters of the earth. The fate of empires and of kingdoms were in their hands, and they weighed them in the balance of juſtice and integrity. The wealth of the public was the care of every individual, and the glory of the commonwealths reflected luſtre on their ſons. But when extenſive conqueſts raiſed extenſive deſires, luxury ſtole in, and under the ſpecious maſk of pleaſure, &c. enſlaved them firſt to themſelves, and then their hearts being corrupt, they readily fell a prey to the worſt ſet of wretches, that God in

in his wrath ever ſent to perſecute, a perverſe and wicked nation. Reflection on the paſt, naturally leads the mind to a review and compariſon of the preſent times. Scarce any nation paſſes a century without ſome remarkable fluctuation: How ſhould it be otherwiſe? For how can that be perpetually ſtable, wherein man full of inſtability is principally concerned? It is certain therefore that all the quiet, in a nation, is ordered by divine wiſdom: As all the confuſions, calamities, and convulſions, are permitted by divine juſtice. I fear this land is ripe for judgments. How few are there herein, who even *intend* to pleaſe God in all they do? And all beſides are ſubjects of divine wrath. For all who live without any regard to God, are wilful ſinners againſt him, and every hour liable to the ſtroke of his offended juſtice. From the accounts given by Jeremiah, we have reaſon to believe that when that people was moſt deeply corrupted, yet the greateſt men in the nation talked ſometimes of God, perhaps as frequently as upon any other ſubject; but is it ſo with us? Rather is it not *a point of good breeding* to put God far away out of our ſight? is he talked of at all among the great, &c. But we may preſume to hope, it will not be long ſo. For when God's judgments are abroad in the earth (ſays a prophet) the inhabitants of the world will learn righteouſneſs; i. e. the divine afflicti ons have or ought to have, this good effect upon us. If indeed at ſuch a time if we are *not rouſed and brought to our duty, we never ſhall.* Notwithſtanding the calamities brought upon a neighbouring nation, by ſin and immorality, do we ſee any appearance of a reformation of morals and manners among us? Or do we conſider how many enemies we harbour and entertain, in our pride and luxury, in our bribery and corruption? (which are the *natural effects of pride and luxury*) Theſe are the enemies moſt to be dreaded, becauſe they make God our enemy.

I ſuppoſe it will be granted that hardly one in a thouſand among our people of quality, appears to act by any principle of religion; the open traffick for civil, military, and eccleſiaſtical employments, without the leaſt regard to merit or qualifications, the corrupt management of men in office; the many deteſtable abuſes in chuſing thoſe who repreſent the people; with the management of intereſt and factions, among the repreſentatives, &c. This is a ſhort view of the general depravities among us, or ſome of them. Now as univerſal and deep rooted as theſe appear to be, I am utterly deceived, if an effectual remedy might not be applied to moſt of them; neither am I upon a wild ſpeculative project; but ſuch an one as may be eaſily put in execution. For while the prerogative of giving all employments continues in the crown, either immediately, or by ſubordination, it is in the power of the prince (aſſiſted by the nobles, biſhops, &c.) to make piety and virtue become the faſhion of the age, if at the ſame time they would make them neceſſary qualifications for favor, and preferment. It is clear from preſent experience, that the bare example of the beſt prince, will not have any mighty influence, where the age is very corrupt, for there never was a better prince on the throne thán the preſent king. He is pious, charitable, temperate, and endowed with all other virtues that b ſt adorn a public or private life; yet neither will it be ſatire or peeviſh invective to affirm, that *infidelity and vice are not diminiſhed*, ſince his coming to the throne. Thus human nature ſeems to be under the diſadvantage, that the example alone of a vicious prince, &c. will in time corrupt an age; but the example of a good one will not be ſufficient to reform it, without further endeavours. Princes, &c. ſhould therefore ſupply this defect, of their own good example, by a vigorous exerciſe of that authority which the law gives them, by making it every man's intereſt and honor, to cultivate religion and virtue, *by rendering vice a diſgrace*; and the certain ruin to preferment or pretenſions; all which they ſhould firſt attempt in their own families. Now I cannot ſee any objection to be raiſed againſt what I have advanced; unleſs it ſhould be thought that the making

religion a neceſſary ſtep to intereſt and favour, might increaſe hypocriſy among us: but if it ſhould, hypocriſy is much more eligible than open infidelity, wickedneſs, and vice. I would not be underſtood to exclude any religious denomination of people, but all to be preferred without diſtinction, according to their behaviour, merits, and abilities. With the poet, we might then ſay,

" Ye different ſects, who all declare,
Lo! Chriſt is here, or Chriſt is there;
Your ſtronger proofs divinely give,
And ſhew us where *the chriſtians live.*"

But to return to the Romans, as long as their manners were regulated by a principle of religion, they proſpered and were free and invincible; but the *Atheiſtical doctrines* of *Epicurus* which inſinuated itſelf at Rome under the reſpectable name of *philoſophy*, undermined and *deſtroyed* this ruling principle, and prepared the Romans for the reception of *Atheiſm*, which is the never failing attendant of luxury, &c. But as long as this principle remained, it controuled manners, and checked the progreſs of luxury and vice in proportion to its influence. But when the introduction of *atheiſm* had deſtroyed this principle, the great bar to corruption, &c. was removed, and the paſſions at once let looſe to run their full career, without check or controul. From *Epicurus* and his followers, our *modern ſcepties* have derived the ſenſeleſs tenet of *annihilation* to ſerve the cauſe of *libertiniſm*. The grand *deſideratum* in *libertiniſm*, is to be able to give an *unbounded looſe* to the ſenſual paſſions and appetites, without any dread of an after reckoning. Miſerable beings, happy for you, had you never been born. If ſenſuality gives pleaſure beaſts are happier than you. As the late rev. Philip Skelton ſays,

" Man plunges on from crime to crime,
And round them forms a gulph,
Of filth, and blood and there outdoes,
The *ſwine*, *the fox*, *the wolf*."

Not many noble, not many wiſe are called, ſays the apoſtle; nevertheleſs ſome of both, even at the riſe of chriſtianity, openly ſtood up for its truth. Among the *noble* we find Joſeph, a member of the Jewiſh council, Dionyſius one of the great judges at Athens, and Flavius Clemens a Roman ſenator; and among the *wiſe* Quadratus, Ariſtides, and Athenagoras, Athenian philoſophers, &c. &c. How credulous are they who can believe that perſons of ſuch rank and learning could be deluded by Jewiſh fiſhermen into the worſhip of a crucified impoſtor.

I am, ſir, your's, &c.
MONITOR.

Ballynahinch, May 2d, 1794.

Account of the Behaviour while in London, of the Eſquimaux Indians brought over by Captain Cartwright.

Dec. 1772. Friday 11, to Sunday 13.—AT three o'clock this afternoon we came to an anchor in the Downs, and took a pilot on board. We ſailed from thence the next morning, and in twenty-four hours came to an anchor in Graveſend road; I landed with the two men, and ſet off for London in a poſt-chaiſe, where we arrived at three in the afternoon.

Monday 14—I went down the river this morning, met the veſſel in the Pool, and brought the women on ſhore. They were greatly aſtoniſhed at the number of ſhipping which they ſaw in the river; for they did not ſuppoſe that there were ſo many in the whole world: but I was exceedingly diſappointed to obſerve them paſs through London bridge without taking much notice of it. I ſoon diſcovered that they took it for a natural rock which extended acroſs the river. They laughed at me when I told them it was the work of men; nor could I make them believe it, till we came to Blackfriar's bridge, which I cauſed them to examine with more attention; ſhewing them the joints and pointing out the marks of the chizzels upon the ſtones. They no ſooner comprehended by what means ſuch a ſtructure could be erected, than they expreſſed their wonder with aſtoniſhing ſignificancy of countenance.

On landing at Weſtminſter bridge, we were immediately ſurrounded by a great concourſe of people; attracted not only by the uncommon appearance of

of the Indians who were in their ſealſkin dreſſes, but alſo by a beautiful Eagle, and an Eſquimau dog; which had much the reſemblance of a wolf, and a remarkable wildneſs of look. I put them all into coaches, with as much expedition as poſſible, and drove off to the lodgings which I had prepared in Leiceſter-ſtreet.

In a few days time, I had ſo many applications for admittance to ſee the new viſitors, that my time was wholly taken up in gratifying the curioſity of my friends and their acquaintance; and the numbers who came made my lodgings very inconvenient to the landlord as well as to myſelf. I therefore reſolved to look out for a houſe. I ſoon hired a ſmall one, ready furniſhed, for ten guineas a month, in Little-Caſtle-ſtreet, Oxford market, and removed thither.

Being willing, as far as lay in my power, to comply with the inceſſant applications of my friends for a ſight of the Indians; and finding it impoſſible either to have any reſt, or time to tranſact buſineſs, I appropriated two days a week to that purpoſe, viz. Tueſdays and Fridays. On thoſe days, not only my houſe was filled, even to an inconvenience, but the ſtreet was ſo much crowded with carriages and people, that my reſidence was a great nuiſance to the neighbourhood.

As their ſkin dreſſes had a dirty appearance and an offenſive ſmell, I provided a quantity of broad-cloth, flannel, and beads, together with whatever elſe was neceſſary; and the women now having leiſure to work, and being excellent taylors, ſoon cloathed them all anew; preſerving their own faſhion in the cut of their garments.

I once took the men to the opera when their majeſties were there, and we chanced to ſit near Mr. Colman, the manager of Covent-Garden theatre, who politely invited all the Indians and myſelf to a play at his houſe. He fixed on Cymbeline, and they were greatly delighted with the repreſentation. But their pride was moſt highly gratified, at being received with a thundering applauſe by the audience, on entering the box. The men ſoon obſerved to their wives that they were placed in the king's box, and received in the ſame manner as their majeſties were at the opera: which added conſiderably to the pleaſure which they felt from the tout enſemble. Never did I obſerve ſo young a child pay ſuch unremitting attention to the whole repreſentation, as little Ickeuna: no ſooner did the ſwords begin to claſh, in the fighting ſcene between Poſthumus and Iachimo, but ſhe ſet up a moſt feeling ſcream.

About a fornight after our arrival in town, having provided great coats, boots, and hats for the men, in order that they might paſs through the ſtreets unobſerved, I took Attuiock with me and walked beyond the tower. We there took boat, rowed up the river, and landed at Weſtminſter bridge; from whence we walked to Hyde Park corner, and then home again. I was in great expectation, that he would begin to relate the wonders which he had ſeen, the inſtant he entered the room; but I found myſelf greatly diſappointed. He immediately ſat down by the fire ſide, placed both his hands on his knees, leaned his head forward, fixed his eyes on the ground in a ſtupid ſtare; and continued in that poſture for a conſiderable time. At length, toſſing up his head, and fixing his eyes on the ceiling, he broke out in the following ſoliloquy: "Oh! I am tired; here are too many houſes; too much ſmoke; too many people; Labrador is very good; ſeals are plentiful there; I wiſh I was back again." By which I could plainly perceive, that the multiplicity, and variety of objects had confounded his ideas; which were too much confined to comprehend any thing but the inconveniencies that he had met with. And indeed the longer they continued in England, the more was I convinced of the truth of that opinion; for their admiration increaſed in proportion, as their ideas expanded; till at length they began more clearly to comprehend the uſe, beauty, and mechaniſm of what they ſaw: though the greater part of theſe were as totally loſt upon them, as they would have been upon one of the brute creation.

Although they had often paſſed St.

Paul's without betraying any great aſtoniſhment, or at leaſt not ſo much as all Europeans do at the firſt ſight of one of thoſe ſtupendous iſlands of ice, which are daily to be ſeen near the eaſt coaſt of their own country, yet when I took them to the top of it, and convinced them that it was built by the hands of men, (a circumſtance which had not entered their heads before, for they had ſuppoſed it a natural production,) they were quite loſt in amazement. The people below they compared to mice; and inſiſted that it muſt at leaſt be as high as cape Charles, which is a mountain of conſiderable altitude. Upon my aſking them how they ſhould deſcribe it to their comntrymen on their return, they replied, with a look of the utmoſt expreſſion, they ſhould neither mention it, nor many other things which they had ſeen, leſt they ſhould be called liars, from the ſeeming impoſſibility of ſuch aſtoniſhing facts.

Walking along Piccadilly one day with the two men, I took them into a ſhop to ſhew them a collection of animals. We had no ſooner entered than I obſerved their attention rivited on a ſmall monkey; and I could perceive horror moſt ſtrongly depicted in their countenances. At length the old man turned to me and faltered out, "Is that an Eſquimau?" I muſt confeſs, that both the colour and contour of the contenance had conſiderable reſemblance to the people of their nation, but how they could conceive it poſſible for an Eſquimau to be reduced to that diminutive ſize, I am wholly at a loſs to account for; unleſs they had fixed their attention on the countenance only, and had not adverted to any other particulars. On pointing out ſeveral other monkies of different kinds, they were greatly diverted at the miſtake which they had made; but were not well pleaſed to obſerve, that monkeys reſembled their race much more than ours.

The parrots, and other talkative birds, next attracted their notice. And it was a great treat to me, both then and at all other times, to obſerve their different emotions, much more forcibly expreſſed in their countenances, than is poſſible to be done by thoſe, whoſe feelings are not equally genuine. Civilized nations imperceptibly contract an artificial expreſſion of countenance, to help out their languid feelings; for knowledge, by a communication with the world and books enlightens our ideas ſo much, that they are not ſo liable to be taken by ſurpriſe, as the uninformed mind of the ſavage, who never had the leaſt hint given him, that certain things are in exiſtence; conſequently, they break upon them as unexpectedly, and forcibly, as the ſun would do upon a man who was born deaf and blind, in caſe he ſhould ſuddenly be brought to ſight on a clear day.

'Being on a dining viſit, with that excellent ſurgeon and anatomiſt, the ingenious John Hunter; in the afternoon Attuiock walked out of the room by himſelf, but preſently returned with ſuch evident marks of terror, that we were all greatly alarmed, fearing ſome accident had happened to him; or, that he had met with an inſult from one of the ſervants. He ſeized hold of my hand, and eagerly preſſed me to go along with him. I aſked the cauſe of his emotion, but could get nothing more from him than "Come along, come along with me," and he haſtily led me into a room in the yard, in which ſtood a glaſs caſe containing many human bones. "Look there," ſays he, with more horror and conſternation in his countenance, than I ever beheld in that of man before, "are thoſe the bones of Eſquimaux whom Mr. Hunter has killed and eaten? Are we to be killed? Will he eat us, and put our bones there?" As the whole company followed us, the other Indians had alſo taken the alarm before the old prieſt had finiſhed his interrogatories; nor did any of them ſeem more at eaſe, by the reſt of us breaking out into a ſudden and hearty laugh, till I explained to them that thoſe were the bones of our own people, who had been executed for certain crimes committed by them, and were preſerved there, that Mr. Hunter might better know how to ſet thoſe of the living, in caſe any of them ſhould chance to be broken; which often happened in ſo populous a country. They were then perfectly ſatisfied, and

approved

approved of the practice; but Attuiock's nerves had received too great a ſhock to enable him to reſume his uſual tranquility, till he found himſelf ſafe in my houſe again.

'Paſſing through Hyde Park in our way to Holland houſe, and obſerving his majeſty looking at the regiment of old buffs, which were then going to Plymouth, we got out of the coach and went up to the front; where I explained to them the uſe of that body of men, and of the evolutions which they were performing. After his majeſty viewed the regiment collectively, the recruits were drawn out a few paces diſtant from the left flank, that he might examine them ſeparately. So great a crowd had gathered round us, as incommoded our view of the troops, and attracted the notice of the king, who then ſent general Harvey to order me with the Indians, into the vacant ſpace between the regiment and the recruits. Here his majeſty rode ſlowly paſt them, and condeſcended to ſalute them by taking off his hat, accompanied with a gracious ſmile; honours which they were highly pleaſed with, and often mentioned afterwards with great exultation. Nor were they in the leaſt diſpleaſed that his majeſty did not ſpeak to them; ſince I had previouſly told them not to expect it; and they obſerved that he ſpoke to none but the commanding officer, and one or two of thoſe who were in attendance.'—

'The face of the country did not paſs unobſerved by them, and their expreſſion was "The land is all made," for they ſuppoſed that we had cut down the woods, and levelled the hills. In the former ſuppoſition they were certainly right; and I do not wonder at the latter, ſince they would naturally ſuppoſe that all the world was like the ſmall part of it which they had formerly ſeen; and which is almoſt an entire collection of hills covered with thick woods. As they had never before ſeen any cultivated land (except a few ſmall gardens, which they obſerved were dug with a ſpade) they formed an idea of our immenſe numbers, by being able to till ſo much land and conſume the produce of it in a year; excluſive of the animal food with which they ſaw our tables and markets abounded. How the inhabitants of London were ſupplied with food, I could never make them fully comprehend, any more than I could the number of people by which the metropolis was inhabited. Their arithmetic goes no higher than the number twenty-one; therefore, the beſt I could do, was to tell them, that a certain number of large whales would ſerve them for one meal only. Nothing ſurprized them more, than to meet with a man who aſſured them he could not ſhoot, had never killed an animal nor ſeen the ſea in his life.

'After my return to town, by his majeſty's permiſſion, I took them to court; where their dreſſes and behaviour made them greatly taken notice of. They were alſo at the houſes of ſeveral of the nobility and people of faſhion; and I omitted nothing, which came within the compaſs of my pocket, to make their ſtay in England agreeable, or to impreſs them with ideas of our riches and ſtrength. The latter I thought highly neceſſary, as they had often, when in Labrador, ſpoken of our numbers with great contempt, and told me they were ſo numerous, that they could cut off all the Engliſh with great eaſe, if they thought proper to collect themſelves together: an opinion which could not fail to produce in me very unpleaſant reflections. But they had not been long in London before they confeſſed to me, that the Eſquimaux were but as one, compared to the number of the Engliſh.'

Memoirs of M. Robeſpierre.

(Concluded from our laſt.)

M. ROBESPIERRE, having contrived to attach a large party to himſelf who acted by his direction, continued in the back ground for a conſiderable time, and gave only ſilent votes touching the re-union of the county of Avignon with France.—The regulations of the people of colour in the Weſt Indies—the functions and eſtabliſhment of the king, and the diviſion of the departments with the number of deputies

deputies each was to ſend to the future legiſlative aſſembly. This laſt point was ſettled on Friday the 27th of May, when it was alſo decreed that the firſt legiſlature ſhould ceaſe on the firſt of May 1793.

In the interval between the ſettlement of this buſineſs, and the re-election, many manœuvres were ſet in motion to curb, if not quite annihilate the regal power; alſo ſeveral diſturbances and much bloodſhed which we paſs over, becauſe our readers in general are pretty well acquainted with them, and they do not immediately relate to the ſubject of theſe memoirs. Neither ſhall we dwell upon the contrivances of thoſe members of the *national aſſembly* to obtain ſeats in the preſent *national convention*.

In July and Auguſt, 1792, when the national convention had obtained full powers and were governed and directed by Briſſot, Danton, and Robeſpierre, each party although contrary to the others, and contending for ſuperiority, ſtill were united and uniform in the deſign of totally overturning monarchy. On the 10th of the laſt named month the maſſacre of the Thuilleries drove the king to the aſſembly for ſhelter, from whence he was ſent, with all the royal family to the *temple*, and from that moment till his trial the convention was employed in confirming a *republic*, and in preparing the neceſſary ſteps that led to that event. Large armies were ſet on foot, battles fought and victories gained. Several members of the oppoſite parties ſeeing Robeſpierre, encreaſing in power, thought it time to retrench it. About the end of October, M. Louvet had moved a decree of accuſation againſt Robeſpierre, but his party prevailed ſo far as to order that he ſhould be heard in his defence, before the accuſation ſhould be confirmed. It became the order of the day for the 5th of November; and in a very long ſpeech, Robeſpierre ſo far exerted himſelf that the affair dropt; and then the trial of Louis XVI. was decreed.

The events of that melancholy period, the war with England and the ſubſequent conflicts, the trial and execution of the queen and princeſs Elizabeth, are recent in the minds of every reader; we ſhall therefore touch only on ſuch incidents in which Robeſpierre ſtood forth as a prominent figure in the picture of confuſion and bloodſhed.

In the *appel nominal* on the 17th of January 1793 on the queſtion what puniſhment ſhould be inflicted on Louis XVI. Robeſpierre gave his vote in the following words—"Becauſe you have eſtabliſhed yourſelves the judges of Louis, without the uſual forms, are you leſs his judges? You cannot ſeparate your quality of judge from that of legiſlator. Theſe two qualities are indiviſible—you have acknowledged the crimes of the tyrant—it is your duty to puniſh them. No conſideration ſhould make you heſitate reſpecting the puniſhment reſerved for the greateſt criminal that ever exiſted. I vote for the puniſhment of *death*."

The ſame day, when it was debated whether the defenders of Louis ſhould be admitted, Robeſpierre ſtrongly oppoſed it. But it was decreed that they ſhould be admitted, after the reſult of the *appel-nominal* ſhould be proclaimed.

The defenders of Louis having been admitted, *Deſeze* (one of them) produced an appeal to the nation at large. *Robeſpierre* moved and carried the following two decrees.

I. That the appeal interpoſed by Louis is *null*, being contrary to the rights of the people, and to the power of national repreſentation; and that all citizens are forbidden to ſupport this appeal, under pain of being puniſhed as diſturbers of public tranquility.

II. That there are no grounds for attending to the remonſtrances of the council of Louis in regard to the nature of the majority which paſſed ſentence upon him.

This laſt decree was propoſed to defeat the demands of a repeal of the decree that made a ſentence valid by an *abſolute majority*, as the penal code had ordained that no ſentence of puniſhment ſhould be paſſed except by *two thirds* of the voices. This demand was made by *Tronchet*, another of Louis's defenders.

The next day, Friday January the 18th,

18th, as ſome of the members who had voted for death wiſhed for a delay of execution, the queſtion, *when* it ſhould take place was agitated. On this ſubject Robeſpierre ſaid,

"Since the *humanity* of this aſſembly had declared Louis guilty, and that he deſerved death, I do not ſee what can ſeparate us when we are united by a common intereſt. We have voted for the death of the tyrant—we muſt no longer think of negociating with tyranny; and I cannot allow myſelf to imagine that there is in this convention, a ſingle man who will refuſe to participate in the glory of that courage by which we ſhall ſecure the admiration of poſterity! With regard to the queſtion of a reſpite, I think you ought to ſet it aſide through *humanity*. I ſhould be much grieved did I think that there were many members in the convention who were not of the ſame opinion. If you do not determine in the courſe of this ſitting, I requeſt that your utmoſt delay may be only an adjournment till to-morrow. As for my part, I hope for a ſpeedier deciſion, and I flatter myſelf that we ſhall not quit this hall till we have determined definitively reſpecting the reſpite claimed in favour of the tyrant."

Soon after the queſtion of adjournment was carried, but Robeſpierre after the preſident had quitted the chair, with his party were clamorous that it was doubtful whether the queſtion was fairly carried. Many of the oppoſite parties had quitted the hall. Some others declared they would continue ſitting. Robeſpierre then ſaid, "let us not conceal that there is a plan formed for withdrawing the tyrant from the puniſhment pronounced againſt him by the law. If you are not upon your guard citizens, a faction will oppoſe the ſalutary example which you wiſh to give to nations. Louis will be privately put to death to prevent him from being expoſed on a ſcaffold. I conjure you then to purſue the neceſſary meaſures for avoiding this inſult to the national ſovereignty, and for deferring the execution of the decree which you have paſſed. I ſwear that I ſhall be in this ſeat at eight o'clock to-morrow morning to demand that the convention will determine without delay on the reſpite claimed in favour of Louis."

On the 11th of March 1793, Danton, (who was then in great friendſhip with Robeſpierre) made a propoſition that members of the convention might accept offices of the miniſtry, but it being oppoſed he withdrew his motion; upon this Robeſpierre could not avoid ſhewing his *ambition* by bringing it forward again. He ſaid, "he could not conceive the motive that induced his collegue Danton to ſay that he would not accept an office in the miniſtry. He acknowledged that he would act in a contrary manner"—"we no longer" (added he) live at a period when the title of *dictator*, *protector* or *tribune* can be a reaſonable ſubject of reproach, all thoſe who poſſeſs good ſenſe or honeſty cannot conſider a dictatorſhip, or protectorſhip but as phantoms created by fear or malevolence. A man who is ſenſible that he can ſerve his country in important offices, ought not thus to have the falſe modeſty to ſay that he will not accept of them. For this reaſon I will take upon myſelf every burden which I do not think ſuperior to my ſtrength; even that of a place in the miniſtry, which, in my opinion, is conſiſtent with the functions of a legiſlator."

The *republic* being confirmed by the death of the king, each of the ruling parties ſoon took every method to overthrow the others. The *Briſſotins* were deſtroyed, and the head of that party brought to the guillotine by the joint efforts of *Danton* and *Robeſpierre*, and their adherents; and the genius or good fortune of the latter, ſoon enabled him to get rid of *Danton*, the ſole obſtacle to his almoſt ſovereign rule of the convention. Thus, almoſt without an opponent, (for Barrere and St. Juſt are his emiſſaries,

Who move by his direction
And, at his bidding, ſtop.)

He has attained the ſummit of power, though he has the art to make every meaſure *ſeem* that of the *convention*. The purging the ſtate of traitors; the condem-

condemnation of no leſs than *ninety-ſeven* of the members of the convention; and the diſplacing or beheading *fifty-four* generals, had ridded him of *one hundred and fifty-one* opponents or rivals. The death of the queen and the late execution of the princeſs Elizabeth, were indeed unneceſſary pieces of wanton cruelty; as their lives could not afford any means of counteracting the plans of Robeſpierre. But the late ſucceſſes of the republican army ſeem to give ſuch an addition to Robeſpierre's power, that it is not probable it will end but with his life. But as that hangs only on the hardihood of another *Paris* or *Cordé* it is not poſſible to calculate how long it may laſt.

Pity recommended to Soldiers in Diſtreſs.

To the Editor.

SIR,

In theſe times of public hoſtilities, when ſo many poor objects are daily ſeen applying for ſubſiſtence, many of whom have ſuſtained infinite misfortunes in theſe our national broils, this may not, perhaps, at leaſt I hope, be thought ſuperfluous. It is, methinks, a theme worthy of all to exert the nerve of humanity, and it ſhould, above all, be the attendant of every Iriſhman; and thoſe who would wiſh to ſway the ſceptre of juſtice ſhould be prone to compaſſion, and who can be more worthy of it than thoſe poor wretches of our forces? It is a tribute that is amply their due, and which, I hope, your fair readers, will not diſdain to give the tear of compaſſion to endear our countrymen.

J. H.

TO be prone to pity is a ſatisfactory delight unknown to the heedleſs and unthoughtful; it is a duty incumbent on human nature, and a law which heaven itſelf ſeems to have proclaimed as neceſſary to mankind.—What is man diveſted of that feeling which even brutes admire, though incapable, like man, to judge of it's efficacy, but alone taught by inſtinct to reverſe a ſenſe, of which they know not the tendency?—Yet there are many of our modern heroes who try to ſtifle, under the appellation of effeminacy, that glorious emblem of mercy from above.

Likewiſe, how truly cutting is the ſingle thought to a lover of juſtice and humanity?—A ſoldier fallen to the neceſſity of begging a ſubſiſtence from thoſe people, and be denied a ſcanty relief to his preſent wants, for whom he has ſtood the teſt of an invading enemy, and been made a priſoner, perhaps, in their defence, and who, after a long and tedious captivity, is ſet at liberty to roam about a wide and inhoſpitable world without relief. "To beg his bitter bread through realms his valour ſaved." How truly warming muſt this be to a generous breaſt, who feels for the diſtreſſed among mankind! Too many there are who feel not it's power, nor taſte of the ſweets ariſing from a ſenſibility of it. A man who has defended his country with truſt, is methinks an object worthy all our pity; but a ſoldier ſeems, in our age, an appellation too mean to be acknowledged. The very name ſeems diſguſting to many, and although their ſafety depends greatly on their vigilance and care, yet the teſtimony of their diſlike is often ſealed with a ſneer.

How hard muſt it be felt by thoſe poor wretches, to behold themſelves made engines of an inconſiderate world, (or more moderately) ſpent to the laſt with hard diſcipline, inured to hardſhips without number in frequent campaigns, and expoſed to every hazard that imagination can frame moſt dreadful, to ſee the eve of their exiſtence without a friend, whoſe dawn has been ſwallowed in the ſervice of his country!

Let us then learn to be humane, to ſympathize for every misfortune that time has intailed on human nature, and in particular for thoſe who act in their defence! Let us no more diſdain a fellow countryman in a ſoldier, but pay with a heart-felt compaſſion, the tribute of humanity!

Hortenſia;

Hortenſia; or the Wiſdom of Explanation. A new Moral Tale. By M. de Marmontel.

(Concluded from our laſt.)

'IT is my wiſh, my dear daughter,' ſaid Hortenſia, in the paper which ſhe had entruſted to her care, 'to give you a very important leſſon at my death. I die *diſhonoured*, but I die *innocent*. I have been accuſed of a *crime*, while I have only been guilty of *errors*, which I think deſerving of pardon. But theſe errors, trifling in themſelves, were ſerious in appearance, and deceived your father. Do not cenſure him: his miſtake was inevitable: my firſt fault was the not taking of proper meaſures to guard him againſt it. I thought I might deſpiſe theſe dangerous appearances: I attached an empty importance to what was of none at all, and ſlighted that which was of the utmoſt conſequence. Proud of the virtuous ſentiments I cheriſhed in my heart, I was certain that the eſteem of the public, and that of a worthy huſband, would never forſake me. Free from reproach in my own eyes, I flattered myſelf I was even above ſuſpicion; and without doing any thing to render me really contemptible, I incurred the contempt both of my huſband and the world. This contempt, my dear daughter, is the ſlow poiſon which conſumes, and will ſoon bring me to the grave. Liſten, meditate, and never forget what was the ruin of your mother.

'At nineteen, I married the man, whom I thought, of all his ſex the moſt amiable and eſtimable. Unfortunately, I could boaſt of ſome beauty. In my preſent ſituation, I may ſay this, alas! without vanity. This dangerous gift of nature, ſeconded the care I took to pleaſe the huſband I loved, whom I have ever loved alone, and whom I ſhall ſtill love when I breathe my lateſt ſigh. But though this ſentiment would have been alone ſufficient for my happineſs, I had not good ſenſe enough to ſee that it was ſufficient for my glory. My vanity made me look for other triumphs in the accompliſhments natural to my age. I allowed myſelf to aim at pleaſing, and while I reſerved for my huſband all the affection of my heart, I let my tranſient beauty innocently enjoy the homage that was paid to it. Not that I was credulous enough to lay much ſtreſs upon this homage; for I knew it was frivolous, and often inſincere: my mother had taken care to teach me its true value, and all this admiration was, in reality, of little importance to me. But ſeeing that the young women of my own age, without eſteeming it any more than I, took a pleaſure in it, notwithſtanding, as in the only triumph, they ſometimes ſaid, that nature and opinion had afforded them, I ſuffered myſelf to be flattered like them. Your father was neither ſurpriſed nor jealous. Our mutual tenderneſs had aſſumed a character we thought unalterable; your birth had made the union of our hearts more virtuous and more intimate; and a ſentiment which, though of a peaceful kind, was not deficient in ſtrength, had ſubſtituted the ſerenity of content to the intoxication of love.

'Thus was I in full poſſeſſion of my huſband's eſteem. I made no ſecret to him of the attentions paid me by the gay and agreeable part of the youthful circles; and they were received at his own houſe without ſuſpicion. My mother alone took the alarm: not that ſhe had any doubt of the virtuous ſentiments of my mind; but a prudent foreſight made her apprehenſive of her daughter's ſuffering both from the doubtful light of appearances, and the falſe colouring of malignity.

'You are well ſatisfied, my dear daughter,' ſaid ſhe, 'of the tranquillity of your huſband's heart: like me, he ſees into your ſoul. But are you equally ſecure of the juſtice of the world? Do you think that envious vanity, and that inconſiderate malice which makes a ſport of throwing poiſoned darts, will do no miſchief to that honour, ſo tender, and ſo eaſily wounded, which you imprudently expoſe?' I anſwered, that the innocence of my conduct was ſo evident, that no perſon could attack it, without rendering himſelf odious.

'And, indeed, as there was in my actions, in my converſation, and in the

ingenuouſneſs of my diſpoſition, nothing like the artifices of coquetry; and as I thought of nothing more than being amiable, without taking any pride in making conqueſts, ill-nature itſelf was pleaſed to ſpare me. My huſband, it is true, ſet the example of the confidence that was to be placed in my virtue. Without indifference or inattention, he permitted me to enjoy a liberty, of which he was very certain I ſhould not make an ill uſe; and, in return, I ſaw without alarm, the liberty in which he indulged himſelf.

'The love of literature, and eſpecially a taſte for theatrical entertainments, had enrolled him in a circle of connoiſſeurs; and a friend, whom I accuſe myſelf of ſuſpecting of perfidy, the chevalier d'Onval, had been his introducer. This ſociety made the reſtoration of the French theatre its conſtant pleaſure and occupation. It offered encouragement to the poſſeſſors of riſing talents, who were admitted to frequent ſupper parties, at the houſe in which the ſociety held its meetings.

'I well knew that young beauties there met with the attentions of gallantry; but perſuaded that my huſband loved me, and that he could love nothing but what was worthy of eſteem, I ſhould have bluſhed at thinking him capable of yielding to any ſeduction.

'D'Onval, his friend, however, who alſo called himſelf mine, aſked me, ſometimes, if theſe little theatrical privy councils, and tranſactions behind the ſcenes, gave me no alarm, offering to perſuade his friend Vervanne to renounce all ſuch connections, if they excited in me the leaſt uneaſineſs.

'D'Onval, perhaps, had nothing in view but my tranquillity; perhaps he himſelf might wiſh to deſtroy it. 'Tis a ſuſpicion I diſclaim, but which, ſince my misfortune, has recurred more than once to my mind. "So little," he would often ſay to me, "is wanting to diſturb the happineſs of a heart endowed with fine feelings like yours! A ſhadow of ſuſpicion, the ſlighteſt cloud over the conduct of my friend, however virtuous and honourable he may ſeem to me, makes me tremble for you both."—Alas! my dear daughter, it was I who removed theſe ideas, by aſſuring him, that my eſteem for my huſband was unalterable, and that I never could deſcend to the fear of ſuch rivality. I heard my huſband himſelf praiſe the talents, the perſon, and the accompliſhments of the actreſſes; but as he did not dwell much on the ſubject, my heart admitted no kind of jealouſy.

'At length, this ineſtimable tranquillity was diſturbed by a circumſtance which I can ſtill hardly credit, after having ſeen it with my own eyes.

'My huſband had laviſhed upon me all thoſe ornaments of luxury, which were once ſo much in faſhion. I had diamonds of uncommon ſize and water; and in my bracelets, ear-rings, egret, and dazzling necklace, the ſkill and taſte of the artiſt was ſtill more admired than the richneſs of the ſtones: however, after having for a few years enjoyed, I at laſt neglected this frivolous amuſement of youthful vanity. After your birth, the character of mother having given a little more ſolidity to my diſpoſition, I ſeldom attended to the advantages of dreſs: I reſerved for my dear girl the diamonds that were become uſeleſs to myſelf. But one day, looking among my trinkets for a ring, which D'Onval aſked me for, as a pattern, he ſaid, for one he was going to have ſet, I moved the caſe of my diamonds: I perceived it was grown light; I opened, and found it empty. I was inſtantly alarmed: ſuch a robbery, indeed, was well calculated to alarm me. I ſaid nothing of it, however, in the houſe: but I was in the greateſt perplexity; and uncertain whether I ſhould haſten, or delay, to make my huſband partake of my uneaſineſs, I conſulted D'Onval on this occaſion.'

"No," ſaid he, "do not mention it to him: it would afflict him to no purpoſe. Unleſs the robber ſhould be cautious enough to have them unſet, they will be recovered. The police has the eyes of a lynx; and I will undertake to throw ſome light upon its reſearches." I gave him all the particulars of which the police could want to diſcover my jewels, and truſted entirely to his care.

'The next day, he came with a ſmiling

ſmiling countenance. "Good news!" ſaid he, "your diamonds are found." My firſt ſenſation was that of joy. I had not ſlept the whole night, not doubting that the robber was an inmate of the houſe, but not daring to ſuſpect any particular perſon. "Ah!" cried I, "tell me inſtantly in whoſe hands they were diſcovered."—— "That," ſaid he, "is what you will never know. Were I to tell you, it would afflict you to no purpoſe; and perhaps, after all, the crime is not ſo great as you may think it. Be ſatisfied with the aſſurance that they will be reſtored to you ere long: that is the moſt eſſential part of the buſineſs." "No ſir," ſaid I, "it is not. I am tormented by ſuſpicion and anxiety, and till the robber be known to me, I ſhall be afraid of ſeeing him in every one that approaches." "No," ſaid he, ſmiling, "the robber is not dangerous, and I will be anſwerable for it, that he is able to make reſtitution." I inſiſted; and at length gained my point. "I am going then," ſaid he, "to quiet your apprehenſions. But give me your word that this adventure ſhall remain an inviolable ſecret between us." Theſe words operated on my mind like a ſudden ray of light. "Sir," ſaid I, "what you ſay, and the manner of your ſaying it, make me think it is my huſband. What has he done with them? You need not be afraid to inform me: I ſhall make no complaint. He has perhaps met with a great loſs at play?"— "No, you are miſtaken," ſaid he; my friend is too prudent to play for ſums that would reduce him to ſuch an expedient. Your diamonds are not ſold; nor are they in pawn. I believe that the uſe he has made of them is more pardonable. However, it is poſſible I may be deceived; and I deſire you, to ſee with your own eyes whether I am miſtaken, After that, your good ſenſe will inſtruct you not to conſider as a crime, what is, perhaps no more than an indiſcretion, a caprice, a fancy, or, perhaps, a moment of admiration and enthuſiaſm for youthful and uncommon talents."

'At theſe words, I felt my heart ſhrink, the blood congeal in my veins, and my voice die away on my lips; but I contained my grief, and ſaid to him, with as calm an air as it was poſſible to aſſume: "How, ſir, can I aſcertain what you ſay with my own eyes?" Nothing is more eaſy," replied he: "it was yeſterday that Melania appeared for the firſt time in a part that requires great ſplendour of dreſs. She was ſuch a perfect blaze of diamonds, that the public was ſtruck by her appearance; while I, in conſequence of the information you had given me, thought that I recollected your ſpoils. To-morrow ſhe will play the ſame part. Go, and ſee her, without being ſeen yourſelf: but once more, fair and tender Hortenſia, let me adviſe you, even after you are convinced of the weakneſs of my friend, not to manifeſt any concern. An explanation would diſturb for ever the repoſe of your houſe, and embitter your whole life. Believe a ſincere friend: gentleneſs, indulgence, and ſeeming ignorance of a huſband's infidelity, are the firſt qualities of a wife; for when the reproach is juſt, ſo far from healing, it only ſerves to envenom the wound."

'Vervanne had often ſpoken of this Melania in my preſence, without the leaſt reſerve, as of a young and charming actreſs. Theſe expreſſions were not effaced from my memory; but although all appearances agreed, I could not perſuade myſelf that a man in whom I had ever witneſſed ſo much delicacy, would abaſe himſelf ſo far as to purloin my diamonds to give them to an actreſs. I ſpent twenty four hours in anguiſh. I was obliged to collect all the little remains of my fortitude to aſk madame B—— for a ſeat in the back part of her box; and thither I repaired.

'The fear and trembling with which I waited for the drawing up of the curtain, was like that of a victim in expectation of the fatal blow. My agitation increaſed till Melania appeared. When ſhe came upon the ſtage, I recollected my diamonds. My eyes inſtantly grew dim; a univerſal ſhivering ſeized me; and as I perceived I was about to faint, I begged to be taken into the air. I was led out of the thea-

tre; my ſervants were called, I ſtepped into my carriage, and returned home, to give vent to my grief. What completely overwhelmed me, was the having ſeen your father, with his eyes intent upon the new actreſs, and ſeemingly much affected by all the ſentiments her part expreſſed, applaud her with the moſt rapturous tranſports.

'When I was alone, in my dreſſing-room, half reclined upon a ſofa, and in the diſorder of deſpair; "It is all over," ſaid I to myſelf, "my huſband's heart is irrecoverably loſt. Cruel man! how much has he deceived me!"

'While I was thus loſt in heart-breaking reflections, D'Onval came in, and found me all in tears, pale, deſpairing, and diſordered. "Heaven!" exclaimed he, "what have I done! To what a ſituation has my imprudence reduced you! Forgive me, madam, forgive me, I entreat you, for all the ſorrow of which I am the cauſe. I am diſtreſſed at it beyond imagination."

'At theſe words, and with a look of affliction, he took my hand, and preſſed it to his lips with the ſtrongeſt appearance of ſympathiſing ſorrow. Alas! I was far from ſuppoſing that there could be any thing in his compaſſion offenſive to decency. But he who alone engaged my thoughts at that inſtant, your father, came ſuddenly in, and thought he had ſurpriſed his perfidious friend in my arms. "Traitor," ſaid he, ruſhing upon him ſword in hand, "this was then the reaſon of your leaving me! Begone, ſince you are unarmed; begone, your baſe heart is unworthy of my ſword. Go, and die by the hand of ſome wretch as infamous as yourſelf." D'Onval endeavoured to ſpeak. "Begone," repeated my huſband, "and ceaſe to contaminate my houſe. And you, madam," ſaid he, with a bitterneſs that went to my heart, and that has preyed upon it ever ſince, "was this then the fainting fit that obliged you ſo ſuddenly to leave the theatre?"

'Indignant at this inſult, I was going to anſwer, and to load him with reproaches, but he did not give me time. "Come, come, madam," ſaid he, 'pride ill becomes the diſorder you are in. In ten minutes the horſes will be put to. Go, and dreſs yourſelf decently to return to your mother. 'Tis in her arms, that you muſt in future hide yourſelf."

'A woman poſſeſſed of more fortitude or more temper than I, would have remained in her own apartment, and waited for him there: ſhe would have borne the firſt affront, and with the calmneſs of innocence, at laſt have obtained a hearing. But I was haſty and imprudent; I felt nothing but the outrage, and ſaw nothing but the contraſt of my honour calumniated, and the unworthy behaviour of a man who, after having betrayed me, durſt condemn me, upon ſlight appearances, without allowing me time for juſtification. I retired to my mother's, reſolved never more to ſee the inhuman and perfidious wretch to whom I owed my diſhonour.

'My mother, after hearing me, endeavoured to prevail on me to write. "What!" ſaid I, "deſcend to explanations he would not believe, and court the eſteem of a heart unworthy of mine! No, madam, ſince ſix years of irreproachable conduct have not induced him to have ſome doubt of my guilt, nothing would lead him to believe me innocent. Accuſtomed to ſee vile and corrupted minds in the ſocieties he frequents, he ſuppoſes me equally baſe; and capable himſelf of the moſt infamous proceedings, he judges me by his own heart. Let him give that heart to his Melania. It is as unworthy my regret, as the vain ornaments of which he deſpoiled me to give them to ſuch a woman." My mother endeavoured in in vain to ſoften me: I was inflexible. She wrote to him, however; but I made her promiſe that in her letter, ſhe would only aſſure him, I was free from reproach, and that giving up all claim to my fortune, I aſked for nothing but my daughter.

'In his anſwer he paſſed over in ſilence what he thought of me; a ſilence more cruel and contemptuous than his very inſults! and refuſing me my daughter, he reſtored me my fortune only. Thus, my dear child, was our rupture completed.

'It

'It was my wiſh, that at the age when made acquainted with my misfortune, you ſhould not be ignorant of its cauſe. Wrong not your mother, your expiring mother, by thinking ſhe impoſes on your credulity. If I had been guilty of the crime of which I am accuſed, I ſhould either have deplored it in ſilence, or I would depoſit in your boſom my confeſſion together with my repentance. But the real fault of which I accuſe myſelf, and which I wiſh to guard you againſt, was that indiſcretion, that imprudent and preſumptuous confidence, which depending upon the teſtimony of my own conſcience, made me think I had nothing elſe to conciliate. This is what ruined your mother. I have already ſaid, that I ſpent my youth in receiving the homage of a crowd of admirers; and yet I could ſuppoſe myſelf to be in no danger from calumny. As proud of pleaſing and as vain as thoſe who finiſh by being weak, I expected to be alone reputed exempt from weakneſs, in the midſt of the rocks that ſurrounded me. From the poſſeſſion of my huſband's eſteem, I deduced a right to his unalterable confidence. Even when appearances were the moſt againſt me, I diſdained to deſtroy them. Theſe, my dear daughter, were the errors of my life. I have not been able to conceal your father's firſt fault; but it is to me that you ought to attribute it. If I had been leſs fond of diſſipation, if I had been more attentive to pleaſe him, and if I had not given his deſires time to ſtray, he might never, alas! have loved another. Profit by my faults, and forget his. Love him as much as if he had always loved *me*; and when you ſhall become a wife and mother, remember that it is decreed by the eternal laws of nature, that the glory, the peace of mind, and happineſs of a woman are inſeperable from her duty.'

It is not difficult to imagine the impreſſion which the peruſal of this paper made upon Vervanne. Diſtreſſed beyond meaſure at having ſo ill appreciated ſuch a pure and virtuous mind, overwhelmed with the regret of having embittered and ſhortened her life, relieved however from the reproach he had made her, as from a dreadful burden; impatient to go and expiate his fault at her knees; and begging of heaven to let him ſee her at leaſt before her death, of which he was the cauſe, he kiſſed a thouſand times over the characters traced by her hand, which inflicted ſo many new wounds upon his heart, but which cured one worſe than all of them together; and amid theſe emotions, what was the indignation he felt, when in Hortenſia's narrative he diſcovered all the dark dealings and villainy of the perfidious D'Onval! 'Ah!' ſaid he, 'it was then I whom heaven avenged, by bringing him to an ignominious end.' He ſpent the night in tears, begging heaven to give him time to make reparation for his injuſtice; and the next morning, he ſet off with his daughter in a poſt-chaiſe for Livernon.

The ſurpriſe and joy of Hortenſia's mother were extreme, when ſhe heard that Sylvia had brought her father with her. But when ſhe approached to receive him, ſhe begged him to ſpare the ſick perſon, and to give her a few moments to prepare her for the meeting, leſt ſo ſudden an emotion ſhould put a period to her exiſtence.

'Ah! my dear mother,' ſaid Hortenſia, when appriſed by degrees of her huſband's arrival, 'I am worſe than I thought I was! Let him then come to take a laſt farewell, and forgive me the ſorrows with which I have embittered his life.'

Vervanne was ſcarcely in the preſence of his wife, when he caught hold of her hand, bedewed it with his tears, and implored her forgiveneſs.

'You muſt be very generous,' ſaid ſhe, with a look of tenderneſs, 'ſince, believing me guilty, you—'—'No, I no longer believe it; I ought never to have believed it; my eſteem for you ſhould have better enabled me to reſiſt deceitful appearances. But all is now explained. I was guilty of a breach of truſt to my daughter; I opened her caſket; I read, and my breaſt was no longer a prey to any thing but remorſe. But that remorſe does not accuſe me of the infidelity of which you ſuppoſe me guilty. Believe, my dear Hortenſia, in the ſincerity of a man with

with whoſe heart you ought not to be unacquainted. As ſoon as you have ſtrength ſufficient to hear him, you will find him innocent, and ſtill worthy of your love.'

The emotion of his wife on hearing theſe few words was ſo powerful, and the ſobbings of tenderneſs and joy they occaſioned ſo violent, that it ſeemed as if all the weak ligaments of her ſoul were giving way together. This criſis was her ſalvation. The abſceſs, which was the ſeat of her diſeaſe, breaking ſuddenly, diſcharged itſelf from her breaſt; and when ſhe recovered from the ſwoon into which ſhe had fallen, ſhe felt as if ſhe had renewed her exiſtence. The tranſports of joy, at this happy event, knew no bounds in the caſtle of Livernon, which re echoed with thankſgivings and vows to heaven. The attentions of maternal love, with thoſe of a daughter and of a huſband, were united to complete the cure; and, in a ſhort time, the patient was in a ſtate of rapid recovery.

One day ſhe ſaid to her huſband, with a charming gentleneſs of manner: 'You have then ever loved me? To this delightful idea is attached all the pleaſure I feel in my renovated exiſtence.'

'You will be able to judge yourſelf anſwered Vervanne, ſhewing her the caſe that contained her diamonds. 'Here are your jewels that were profaned for a moment without ever ceaſing to be yours. Liſten with calmneſs and ſilence; for it is not to you, but to this excellent mother that I addreſs myſelf.

'There was a time you well know, madam, when diamonds were conſidered as an indiſpenſable part of dreſs. This time did not laſt long; for virtuous women, on ſeeing the richeſt of all ornaments debaſed, laid them aſide in diſguſt. As early as the third year of our marriage, Hortenſia had bidden adieu to her diamonds. They were conſigned to this caſe, and forgotten.

'The diſeaſe of pretending to wit was epidemical at that time, and I myſelf had not eſcaped the contagion. I was one of a ſociety which thought that it preſided over literature. The theatre, in particular, ſeemed to be our department. We were the counſellors and the patrons of actors; but the moſt diſtinguiſhed favour was reſerved for the actreſſes; and more than one of us paid them aſſiduous attention. I was never of that number: the youthful huſband of an amiable woman ſtill younger than myſelf, I never felt, thank heaven the leaſt deſire to be unfaithful. My taſte for the theatre was the only attraction that carried me thither. One of our connoiſſeurs, the chevalier D'Onval, had ſo well availed himſelf of his ſupple diſpoſition, that I had contracted with him what is called friendſhip. He had wit, taſte, a cultivated mind, and a ſentimental philoſophy of which he made a great diſplay. Having perſuaded me that with a portion of gallantry and libertiniſm, he nevertheleſs retained a ſufficient ſtock of honour, I ſuffered myſelf to be taken in his toils. He came often to my houſe; and as he did not ſeem more forward to pay his court to my wife than decency permitted, I entertained no diſtruſt of him, and ſtill leſs of her. But what a ſnare did the villain lay for us both!

'At one of thoſe ſuppers to which our ſociety admitted the poſſeſſors of theatrical talents, one of the moſt celebrated actreſſes brought and recommended a young and handſome candidate for public applauſe, whoſe firſt appearance was announced. This young woman's name was Melania. She was to appear in a part, the coſtume of which was ſaid to require a ſuit of diamonds; as yet ſhe had none; and ſhe felt the want as an humiliation. Thoſe of her friend were known; and ſhe would not have it ſaid that her jewels were borrowed.

'This delicacy is noble,' ſaid the chevalier D'Onval to her in a half whiſper; 'but if a friend were kind enough to lend you diamonds never ſeen upon the ſtage?' Certainly, ſaid Melania, 'I ſhould be very ſenſible of the obligation.' 'Marquis,' ſaid the chevalier with a careleſs air, 'you can do us that favour: your wife's diamonds lie forgotten in their caſe; and it is eaſy without her knowing it, to borrow them for five or ſix days. I will be anſwerable

anſwerable for their being faithfully reſtored.' I had the weakneſs to conſent; and was guilty of the ſtill greater fault of making it a ſecret to my wife. Hence aroſe the misfortunes of which we have been the two innocent victims.

'You know what impreſſion the ſight of her diamonds made on Hortenſia's mind; you know with what addreſs the artful villain had prepared for her this diſtreſſing piece of ſtage effect. His eyes were upon her; he ſaw her leave the theatre; and he left me with a view of ſeducing her, while feigning to offer conſolation. The fainting of a lady in the boxes had occaſioned ſome diſturbance. I heard her named by thoſe about me; I left the the theatre, and went home with all the anxiety of the moſt tender affection. Judge of the revolution that took place in my mind on entering her cloſet.'

'O heaven! what a ſcene of villany!' exclaimed Hortenſia, 'and what a horrible character have you expoſed to my eyes!'—'I am avenged,' replied Vervanne. 'Known for an adventurer, ſlighted, and, tired of his exiſtence, his inſolence provoked the chaſtiſement he deſerved; he bore it like a coward; and died as he ought to die.

'But, my dear Hortenſia, what a world of ſorrows would a few words of explanation have ſpared us! Without the moſt intire confidence, and a confidence that baniſhes all reſerve, there is no ſuch thing as unalterable eſteem, even for the moſt congenial hearts. Suſpicion and anxiety lurk, and diffuſe their poiſon in ſilence: if the complaint be ſtifled for a while, it acquires greater bitterneſs. The roots of all miſunderſtandings muſt be eradicated, the moment they ſpring up; nor has it been ſaid, without reaſon, that the ſetting ſun ſhould never leave a cloud between a wedded pair.'

'I hope, my dear,' ſaid Hortenſia, giving him her hand, 'that you will adhere to this excellent maxim: for my part, I promiſe to obſerve it, in future, to my lateſt breath.'

The Nun.

To the Editor of the Hibernian Magazine.

SIR,

A Friend of mine travelling a few ſummers ſince in a public conveyance through Normandy, one day favoured me with the following ſtory, which is quite at your ſervice.

"MYSELF and fellow-travellers," ſaid he, "on our way towards Bretagne, one night ſet up our reſt at the town of Vitré, formerly of conſequence for its magnificent Chateau, conſiderable remains of which ſtill exiſt. The windows of my bedchamber were oppoſite to theſe ſtupendous ruins, a few paces from the town, and they are now inhabited by the children of poverty, who find in them a partial ſhelter from the ſeverity of the ſeaſons. Nine towers of this once princely manſion ſtill reſiſt the crumbling hand of Time. It is ſituated on the ſide of a ſteep hill, and overlooks an extent of richly variegated country, once in the poſſeſſion of thoſe lords whoſe remains ſleep in the town church, under tombs that age and accident have rendered illegible.

"Our guard and conductor were, it ſeems, at a favourite inn, and determining to make a night of it, diſturbed by their gaiety and vociferation the poor travellers, who had been fatigued by the preceding day's journey, and myſelf amongſt the reſt. Being unable to ſleep from the exceſſive heat of the night, and from the frequent noiſe below, added to the fierce onſet of certain troubleſome inſects that ſeemed to take advantage of a momentary pauſe to honour me with an interlude in their own way, my patience was ſoon exhauſted, and the moon ſhining bright, I aroſe and dreſſed myſelf, not without ſome patriotic reflections on the ſuperior cleanlineſs and decorum which prevail in my own country in ſimilar places. I went down ſtairs, and angrily quiting the houſe, took a ramble up

the

the hill to enjoy the coolneſs of the midnight breeze.

"In the vicinity of the caſtle towards which I wandered the night was ſilent as death. The weeds that grew out at the windows, the ivy that wrapped the nodding battlement ſcarcely waved its leaves to the air. You may, madam," ſaid my friend ſmiling "ſay like lady Honoria, that ſuch a place might be of great utility if turned into a goal, but I have a degree of reſpect, which you will perhaps call romantic, for thoſe places once the reſidence of greatneſs, whoſe very names are now extinct. To ſit under the ruin of a caſtle-wall by moonlight, ſoothed by the lapſe of the half-choaked ſtream, and indulging conjectures on the unknown fate of its once puiſſant owners, is to me a pleaſure which nurſes virtue while it ſoftens me into melancholy. While I ſurvey the inſtability of what ſo plauſibly promiſed duration, although I then feel moſt forcibly the general uncertainty of all things, yet I do not think one good paſſion is deadened by the contemplation; my mind is then moſt harmonized by the conviction, and thought flies from thence to the empyreum of goodneſs, impregnated with ſenſibility and clothed with ſubmiſſion.

"I had wandered through ſeveral arched gateways formerly entrances to gardens, but now ſerving to aſcertain the limits of ground where the cattle ſcarcely found ſuſtenance, when I came to a part of the building which I imagined to have been a family chapel by a figure of the virgin over the porch, and ſome expreſſive emblems of mortality which had fallen from their place, and lay almoſt covered by the deep graſs. I entered. The roof had fallen in, and the moon ſhed her cleareſt light through the ragged branches of an aged hawthorn, which overſhadowed the cavity. The rays ſhone full on a venerable figure ſeated in a corner of the chapel. He appeared to ſleep. I walked ſofily towards him. He reſted his arm on a ſmall ſlab of white marble. A chiſel, a pair of compaſſes, and a rule, lay by him. I looked attentively at the ſlab which was placed upright, and perceived it to be new; the figures were in bas relief, and very ſmall, but apparently executed with taſte. A ſeraph with a wreath of lilies ſeemed to hover above the tablet of a weeping Nun, which was ſupported by two doves. The ſaint her patroneſs ſat beneath, and appeared to weep as ſhe twined the fatal veil with the roſary, the croſs, and garlands of the gloomy cypreſs; while Penitance on her bended knee, and Hope with a countenance characteriſtically expreſſive, lifted her eye towards Heaven.

"My curioſity was awakened, and perhaps ſome more amiable paſſions: to return without gratifying it was tantilizing, and to diſturb the hoary artiſt ſeemed little leſs than cruelty.—Let him ſleep, ſaid Pity, let him ſleep while he may; the ſlumbers of age are frequently broken when the decay of ſtrength calls for an additional proportion!—But, cried Curioſity, interrupting her, if you do not enquire now, you miſs the only poſſible opportunity; your carriage ſets out by daylight, and you muſt know now, or for ever remain ignorant.—Impoſſible cried I: and going up to him I ſtruck my foot againſt a ſtone: it rolled along the uneven pavement, and anſwered my purpoſe by awakening him.

"He ſtarted.

"Be not alarmed my good father (for he wore the Carthuſian habit); believe me I would not be an impertinent intruder on your repoſe, though I cannot deny that I have a ſtrong deſire to be informed what can induce you to expoſe your age thus. Your hair is quite wet, and your habit has abſorbed in a very great degree the dew of night. Suffer me to lead you where we may obviate the probable conſequence of this negligence."

"I thank you, replied he riſing, I have not far to go; my abode is in the north tower of the Chateau, whither I uſually retire at duſk; but this evening, as I wrought at the inſcription of my daughter's tomb, my ſpirits became completely overpowered. I wept bitterly. As the ſun went down I grew calm,

calm, but nature at my age will not bear much, and I ſunk into the arms of ſleep ere I was aware."

"But do not ſtay here a moment longer, cried I; haſten to your bed, and let me attend you thither. I am a ſtranger and a foreigner, but I can revere your age, and ſympathize in your diſtreſs.

"I will believe you," returned he, in a frank tone, "for I am too poor to tempt impoſition; and were it otherwiſe, there is that in your manner (taking my hand) which tells me you would be too generous to practiſe it."

"We were as much acquainted as if we had known each other twenty years.

"He then knelt down, repeated a ſhort prayer, and, croſſing himſelf very devoutly, went up to the tomb, and kiſſing the tablet exclaimed, "Image of my injured Angelique!"—Tears ſuppreſſed what he would have uttered.

"Come," ſaid I, "this grief is deſtroying your very life." He yielded to my entreaty, and we left the ruin.

"Is it wrong to enquire what ſingular circumſtances have occaſioned you ſuch uncommon ſorrow?" ſaid I, as we walked through a corridore to his apartment.

"No," ſaid he, "it is not wrong; you may know it, if you pleaſe, from its very ſource."

"We were now at the feet of the winding ſtairs at the North Tower. The old man put a cord which hung from the roof into my hand, by which with infinite labour and difficulty we reached at length his lofty though circumſcribed habitation. He then ſtruck a light, and I inſiſted on his immediately ſtripping off his habit and drying his hair, while I chipped the wood to make a fire. He cheerfully complied, and having no change of cloaths, got into bed as his beſt alternative. I then boiled ſome water, and having by accident a bottle of *eau de vie* in my pocket, which a fair *marchande*, my fellow-paſſenger, had entruſted to my care the day before, I took the liberty of making the poor ſhivering monk as comfortable as I could at the good lady's expence.

"You know," ſaid he, ſmiling, as he took a ſecond draught, "our Order does not allow this; but I am not a bigot to cuſtoms now. To accept and to enjoy all things in moderation, is the moſt rational devotion we can offer to their beneficent Author. Alas! had I always ſuffered reaſon to decide on the propriety of cuſtom, had I always conſidered that what our nature revolts at muſt be diſpleaſing to the Deity, however varniſhed by the falſe light of ſuperſtition, then you had not ſeen me thus, then my Angelique had not ſunk blooming into the grave, nor would my heart reproach me, as it now daily does, for the obſtinate ſacrifice of unreſiſting innocence."

"But perhaps," ſaid I, "you charge yourſelf too hardly; cuſtom is a tyrant we muſt frequently obey, or"—

"Oh," returned he, interrupting me, "I have no apology to offer ſave that of ſuperſtitious blindneſs. Take this key, and unlock the little trunk in yonder corner; you will there ſee to what fatal lengths I have cheriſhed error, without once liſtening to the voice of nature. The compaſſion you have ſhewn, my poverty and my grief unite to make me diſcloſe myſelf without reſerve. Thoſe who have views for concealment, or an inſuperable ſhame at the idea of acknowledgment, may be reſerved; but I have no motive. I live upon the charity of my neighbours, therefore have nothing to loſe; and the ſhame I feel at acquainting you how ill I have acted, is a puniſhment which I voluntarily take upon myſelf, as ſome atonement for the ſin.

"This," continued he, laying his hand upon the paper which I had brought up to his bed-ſide, "was written, as you will ſee, after my poor girl took the veil, and contains nothing which I do not acknowledge to be too true."

"I opened the paper, and found it entitled,

MEMOIRS OF ANGELIQUE.

INCLOSED for life in the deep cold boſom of a convent, why ſhould I take my pen to ſtate the fatal cauſe which condemned me hither, ſince with me this paper will moſt probably ſink into

oblivion? But it may ſurvive me; it may meet the eye of ſome parent leſs determined than my own, in whoſe heart nature is not entirely petrified. Some trembling female may in future be ſaved by it, and that poſſibility ſhall be my inducement.

My anceſtors ſeveral ages back were noble; but ſome of them marrying into Bretagne, loſt much of their conſequence in their own province by blending with a ſpecies of nobility who do not think commerce diſgraceful. My father was the younger ſon of an *ecuyer*, who by the courteſy of Bretagne was ſtyled Seigneur; and though my grandfather's late anceſtor had neither held public employments nor poſſeſſed a patent of creation, yet we looked upon ourſelves as one of the beſt families in that province, or even in Normandy, being deſcended from the ancient lords of Vitre, and having quartered time out of mind the arms of ſeveral houſes who had mingled with the blood-royal. My father did not, however, retain that unbending pride which had characterized his remote anceſtors. He ſeriouſly applied himſelf to the acquiſition of that, to which nobility itſelf is frequently obliged to give way, and being ſucceſsful in his commercial undertakings, he was ſoon without any of the hopes or fears of younger brothers. Emboldened by a long run of good fortune, he one year riſked an immenſe venture to the Weſt Indies, and at the time when he hoped to hear of its ſafe arrival, he was informed by his correſpondent there, that a dreadful ſtorm had ariſen, and the little fleet was ſuppoſed to have been deſtroyed, as no account had ſince been heard of it. This intelligence put my father on the rack, and the apprehenſion of its proving true, combating the hope that it would be found falſe, his mind became dreadfully diſturbed. Sometimes, when deſpondency prevailed, he would accuſe the cruelty of that being, who could ſuffer a wretch to toil away half his exiſtence, and bury the production of his induſtry in a moment. Again, when hope gained the aſcendancy, he would promiſe, if his ſhips arrived ſafe, to offer up his favourite child, myſelf, then ſeventeen, to the ſole ſervice of that Omnipotent Deity who had preſerved the fruits of his labour.

Let the ſoul of ſenſibility conceive, if poſſible, the ſituation of a filial mind under this ſuſpence; conceive its miſery when told, that love lurked in the heart, and united with native abhorrence to ſtir up rebellion to ſuch an unnatural ſacrifice. A young enſign of the artillery was the friend to whom my heart was opened: he was my couſin and my lover, and from infancy we had been partial to each other. He waited with anxiety, which only my own could equal, the confirmation of my father's hopes or fears. This young man, but a few years older than myſelf, was lovely in his perſon, and of a moſt pleaſing addreſs. His intellectual merit was univerſally admitted, and his heart was ſincere, benevolent, and liberal. We had been deſtined by our parents for each other, and had often lived in the ſame houſe with that degree of familiarity which is apt to exalt ſimple approbation into a warmer ſentiment, even in minds where time or diſappointment have quenched the romantic ardour of a firſt love. For hearts like ours, ſtill new to the paſſion, and ſtill faſcinated by its influence, yielding to it in the beginning with the ſanction of our friends, and confirmed, irrevocably confirmed by their continued approbation, what muſt we feel at ſeeing the axe thus laid to the root of our happineſs by thoſe very hands who had pointed out where we ſhould plant it?

Ah! whence does a parent deduce his claim to this cruel prerogative? Who ſhall ſay to the mind, "Hate, approve, renounce, accept, as I ſhall dictate?" None. The ſoul makes its choice, and will ever feel its independence. But when I queſtion the juſtice of ſuch imperious commands, I would not wiſh to be underſtood as holding parental authority in contempt. Far, very far from it. When the approbation or oppoſition of ſuch near relatives is grounded upon rational principles, let youth be cautious how it treats that oppoſition with haughtineſs, and beware how it wilfully ſhuts its eyes to that propriety of conduct which

insures approbation, at once dispassionate and discriminating.

Letters at length came with an account of the fleet's safe arrival; and my fate was then decided. I was snatched from the arms of my lover, and forced upon my noviciate in a neighbouring convent. A year was spent in vain endeavours to reconcile me to my fate. My father pleaded his vow, as binding him to a perseverance in his determination, and painted the serene happiness of the life he had chosen for me, in the most energetic language that enthusiastic devotion could inspire.

"Can you," he would often say, "can you, my child, form to yourself a more happy situation in this world than that which excludes every temptation to evil? a situation from which you may regard sublunary concerns as if you were an inhabitant of a superior planet; a retreat where you will have leisure to commune with your own heart, and by daily labouring for its purification, make it at last a valuable present to the giver of Life. From the ample and quiet shade of your convent, you may look down as from a serene eminence on the cloudy atmosphere that envelopes society. You may from thence contemplate, without interruption, the grand order of nature, trace effects from their causes, drink at the hiddden springs of truth, and inform yourself how the silent hand of Omnipotence creates and preserves the harmony of the universe. In researches like these, you will feel your soul detached from, and elevated above, all earthly views and connections; your imagination will carry you to the throne of God itself; you will renounce with transport every wordly pleasure, and I shall have the happiness of offering to my Maker that sacrifice which I have vowed, and which he delights to behold, an innocent and devoted heart. Can you, my love, figure to yourself a happier state of being? Impossible!"

Alas! I had already depicted one more agreeable to my feelings, more consonant to my nature. The gentle, the charming Ferdinand was foremost in the scene. At the time of my going into the convent, he was called to join his corps at some leagues distance, and we had no opportunity to fix upon a method of correspondence previous to his departure. The dreadful day was named which was to condemn me for ever to solitude and to despair. To inform him was impossible, and could I have done so, it would have been in vain, as escape was impracticable. With a heart devoted to love, and tortured with the certainty of everlasting separation from its object, I was led to the altar, and made to vow eternal obedience to dictates the most repugnant to my soul, and obscure to my understanding.

When the fatal lawn was thrown over me, and this cruel ceremony at an end, my father came up and thanked me with emphasis; imprinted a kiss on my cold cheek; presented my weeping mother, with my brothers and sisters, to take a last embrace, and then, recommending me to the abbess, they all in agony bade me a long farewel.

I will not attempt to delineate my sensations on becoming an inmate for life of this unsocial retreat. Language has not terms sufficiently expressive of the anguish I suffered, when sometimes awaking from an uneasy slumber, the solemn tinkling of the midnight bell has called me to pronounce prayers the purport of which I scarcely knew, my imagination wandering the while into that world where I fancied my distracted Ferdinand pined away his life a victim to despair.

When I had been here about a month, the superieure came one day into my dormitory, and told me, that a novice, who was to enter the next afternoon, should (if I had no objection) occupy one of the beds in my room. This proposal gave me a degree of satisfaction which I thought no future circumstance could have awakened in me, and I expressed myself pleased with the arrangement. I felt a degree of hope that my new associate (perhaps yet unfixed in conventual principles) might, by sympathizing with my sorrows, remove a part of that extreme wretchedness which seemed even to threaten my intellects. The afternoon of the next

day brought with it our new ſiſter elect; but how different from the portrait my fancy had wrought! Far from the elegant languor of reluctant beauty ſhivering on the icy threſhold of eternal celibacy, I beheld a figure, finely formed indeed but maſculine, advancing undauntedly along, yet with downcaſt eyes, and cheeks on which the pencil of health had laid colours that might have been miſtaken for the momentary effects of extreme modeſty. This equivocal and inconſiſtent appearance deſtroyed my confidential plan in a moment, and I retired to my room, little pleaſed at the idea of ſo unintereſting an intruder on the privacy I had ſo dearly purchaſed.

After veſpers I was introduced by the abbeſs to our new devotee; and when ſupper was over, I was requeſted to wait on her to our room. I had been ſo diſpleaſed at her apparent want of ſenſibility to the horrors which awaited her, that I had ſcarcely looked in her face ſince our introduction to each other in the chapel, and believe I performed with a very ill grace thoſe little attentions which as a ſtranger ſhe had a right to expect. The ſame diſguſt accompanied me up-ſtairs; and having pointed out her bed, and ordered a lay-ſiſter to wait her commands, I coldly wiſhed her a good night, and retired to my own ſide of the room. Expecting ſhe would go to bed when ſhe had counted her beads and undreſſed, I had recourſe to my roſary, and waited afterwards till ſhe ſhould have taken off her cloaths, before I attempted to prepare for ſleep, amuſing myſelf the while with training round the window ſome branches of woodbine which had crept through the interſtices of my caſement, and in contemplating the lucid brightneſs of the evening-ſtar as it ſparkled through a vault of azure. The rich breath of the evening breeze, the warbling of a neighbouring ſtream, the ſoft radiance of the creſted moon, and the ſtillneſs of the night, abſorbed me entirely into that ſtate of mind in which the ſoul feels a ſupreme degree of pleaſure without being able diſtinctly to aſcertain its nature, or from what train of thought it is derived. The trance was momentary. The idea of Ferdinand ruſhed acroſs my fancy, and I exclaimed involuntarily, "My friend, my love, we muſt meet no more!"

"Oh, heavens!" exclaimed the ſtranger, in tones of the deepeſt diſtreſs.

I flew to the bed-ſide. She was ſtill dreſſed, except that the bandeau had fallen from her head, and diſcovered treſſes glowing and luxuriant as thoſe which uſed to wave round the cheeks of my Ferdinand. The reſemblance ſtruck me. The looſe white robe ſhe wore was now untied at the neck and boſom, and I perceived, I thought, an uniform. "Gracious Heaven!" I ſcreamed, faintly.

"Be compoſed, my adorable, my faithful Angelique!" cried the charming novice in a whiſper. "'Tis indeed your Ferdinand; but harbour not a thought to my prejudice; my intentions are pure as yourſelf. I have been on the rack ever ſince my admiſſion about the means I ſhould take to introduce myſelf without alarming you; but believe me, I have no wiſhes inconſiſtent with the purity I have ever profeſſed."

"Impoſſible!" cried I. "Know you not that I have ſworn to dedicate myſelf to Heaven?"

"And can you think this compulſatory oath binding? Do you ſuppoſe it is regiſtered by angels, or acceptable to God? Will he puniſh its forfeiture, or regard its obſervance with that complacence with which he looks upon the voluntary dedication of his ſervant, or with that anger which follows the non-obſervance of a willing vow? Certainly he will not. You have been forced to make a mockery of the ſacred rite which unites the ſoul abſtracted from the world to its Almighty Author. You have been obliged to profeſs that ſeclusion to which the natural bent of your mind did not incline you, and which the ideas you have received and cheriſhed, make not merely tormenting, but even criminal."

"Yet ſince it is ſo, ought I not to pray for that grace which ſhall enable me to baniſh whatever may impede my progreſs in the path I have ſo ſolemnly vowed to tread?"

"Why

"Why would you intreat your Maker to eradicate thoſe very feelings he has himſelf implanted; Why pray for their annihilation merely for the purpoſe of adopting ſuch a line of conduct as he never meant you to purſue? ſince, if he had, ſome impulſe would have ariſen in your own mind to aid you in the proſecution of it. Conſcience, my ſweet Angelique, conſcience would have whiſpered to your ſoul your father's cruel adoption, if it had been eſſential to your ſalvation, or if the Almighty had looked with pleaſure on the ſacrifice. But believe me, when I tell you in the words of St. Evremond, though much more ſeriouſly than he when diſſuading the ducheſs of Mazarine, that your perſeverance is not virtue, but * "*une vraie tentation du Diable, lequel, envieux de la gloire de Dieu, ne peut ſouffrir l' admiration que nous donne ſon plus bel ouvrage.*"

"But why talk to me thus? Was it my choice? Can I poſſibly eſcape from it? No. Then leave me. A wide gulph yawns betwixt us, which neither may paſs without incurring anathemas the moſt dreadful."

"My charming Angelique, this is an imaginary abyſs into which you dread plunging: it does not exiſt in the *terra firma* of common ſenſe. When the freedom of choice is taken from you, when you have no will of your own, you become degraded into a machine, the mere organ of another's ſentiments and cannot, in the nature of juſtice, be deemed guilty for ſubmitting to terms you had no power to refuſe, or for reſuming, on the very firſt opportunity, that natural right which had been wreſted from you, and revoking your acknowledgement of whatever militated againſt that reaſon which Heaven has given for your guide. Reſume yourſelf, my life; dare to be conducted by the light of your own underſtanding; ſuffer no power on earth to dictate terms to you, the injuſtice of which is ſo ſtrikingly evident. Let us fly, my love, let us fly to that altar where your lips ſo lately pronounced an unmeaning vow, and breathe one which riſes from your heart, and is ſtamped with the approbation of your intellect. When I firſt conceived the deſign of impoſing upon the abbeſs, I purpoſed to diſcloſe myſelf gradually to you; but your appearance after a year's abſence, the flattering *penſoroſo* I preceived in you, and moreover, the very circumſtance of my being put into your room, urged me to diſcover myſelf immediately. Let us haſten then to ſanctify, by rites the moſt holy, that proximity which chance has favoured me with, and which I cannot enjoy till your voice has authorized me to retain it. After midnight prayers are over, we will go to the altar, and interchange our vows: till then, my love, you ſhall tell me how you have paſſed this dreary noviciate, and I will inform you, what untoward circumſtances have prevented me from ſeeing or hearing from you till now."

"And do you call that a marriage," cried I, angrily, "which has nothing but the burning taper and the holy image to witneſs its exiſtence!"

"It is the moſt ſolemn contract into which we can enter, till chance gives us ſome means of eſcaping hence."

Alas! how ſoon the mind is reconciled to that which it endeavours to approve. My lover had combated with ſucceſs ſuch frail reaſoning as I could bring forward for perſiſting in my vow, and he now as eaſily convinced me of the propriety of a meaſure I ought, perhaps, to have rejected altogether. I conſented, at length, to attended him to the altar after midnight, and in the interim gave him all the information, to which, for the preceding year, he had been a ſtranger; he, in return, recounting all that he thought might intereſt me, from the time of his departure from my fathers's houſe.

[*To be concluded in our next.*]

NOTE.

* 'Tis in fact a temptation of the Demon, who, envious of the glory of God, will not ſuffer our admiration to be given to his moſt beautiful work.

Memoirs of Love and Gallantry. On the Decline of Female Influence. By a Lady.

WE no longer live in thoſe happy times, when to recover a ſtolen fair one whole nations took up arms; when the ſmile of beauty was more powerful than the voice of ambition; when

when heroes conquered to deſerve our favour, and poets preferred the myrtle to the laurel crown.

In this degenerate age, inſtances of dying for love are very rare, and inſtances of marrying for love are ſtill rarer. Formerly, if a lady had commanded her lover to bring her the head of a lion, he would have gone to Africa in ſearch of it, though death were to have been the conſequence of his obedience: but now, a lady can hardly preſume ſo much upon her authority as to exact from her lover the ſacrifice of a party at cards or a match at Newmarket.

However deſirous I am to attribute the cauſe of this decline of our empire to the depraved manners of the men, yet juſtice obliges me to own that we ourſelves are not wholly free from blame. Beauty, like the majeſty of kings, weakens its influence when familiariſed to common view. The face that may be ſeen every morning at auctions, every evening at aſſemblies, at the play, at the opera, or ſome other faſhionable ſcene of pleaſure, ſoon loſes the charms of novelty, and obliterates the impreſſion it firſt made. We may gaze upon a fine picture till the grace of the attitude, the lovelineſs of the features, and the ſtrength of the colouring, ceaſe to ſurpriſe and delight us; and, unhappily, many of our preſent race of beauties are too ſolicitous about their perſonal charms to attend to the improvement of their minds; ſo that a fine woman is indeed, too often, no more than a fine picture.

It has been obſerved, that there is no country in the world where women enjoy ſo much liberty as in England, and none where their ſway is ſo little acknowledged. In Spain, where the ſevere father or miſtruſtful brother guard the ſecluded maid from all converſe with men, ſhe will conquer more hearts, by being ſeen once without a veil, than one of our beauties who appears dreſſed out in the moſt attractive manner, at every public place during a whole ſeaſon.

The Spaniſh lover paſſes whole nights at his miſtreſs's door, and employs ſighs, tears, and tender complaints, to move her compaſſion; bribes the vigilant duenna with half his eſtate to procure him a ſhort interview at a grated window; and, for this ineſtimable favour, he expoſes himſelf to the rage of her relations, who probably ſtand ready to puniſh his preſumption with death; while he, regardleſs of the inſidious ſtab, contemplates her, by the faint light of the moon, with enthuſiatic raptures.—For her ſake he enters the dreadful liſts, and encounters the fierceſt bull of Andaluſia. The ſpectators tremble at his danger: he looks up to the balcony, where his fair one is ſeated, and catches fortitude from her eyes. Should he be wounded in the unequal combat, a ſign from his dulcinea gives him new force and freſh courage: again he aſſails his furious antagoniſt, and drives him bellowing about the field. The lady waves her handkerchief to him as a token of her joy for his victory. The lover, half dead with fatigue and loſs of blood, but triumphing more in that inſtance of her regard for him than in the loud acclamations he hears on every ſide, turns to the place where ſhe ſits, kiſſes his ſword, and is carried out of the liſts.

Thus ardent are the flames which love inſpires in a country where the promiſcuous aſſemby, the wrangling card-table, the licentious comedy, and the late protracted ball, are not permitted to rob beauty of its moſt engaging charms, the bluſh of unſullied modeſty and the ſoft dignity of female reſerve —With us, the lover dreſſes at his miſtreſs; ſings, dances, and coquets, with her; expects to dazzle her with ſuperior charms, and loves her for the ſuperficial qualities he admires in himſelf. He hopes not to gain her heart in reward of his ſervices and conſtancy; but claims it as a price due to the reſiſtleſs graces of his perſon.

Such is the low ſtate of our power at preſent; and ſuch it will continue till our own prudence and reſerve ſupply the place of impoſed retiredneſs, and throw as many difficulties in the lover's way as the tyranny of cuſtom does in other countries.—Beauty, like the Parthian archer, wounds ſureſt when ſhe flies; and we are moſt certain of victo-

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ry when we have not courage to invite the attack.

We ſhall cloſe this article with a remarkable inſtance of conjugal love in low life, without making any remarks on how far it may militate againſt the poſition laid down by our fair correſpondent.—James Johnſon, a perſon of mean birth and no education, had married a young woman of the ſame ſtamp, remarkable for nothing but her induſtry, he had lived with her long enough to have a little family, whoſe bread however was in a much greater meaſure earned by the labour of his wife than his own. It happened that a favourite child became ſick: maternal affection was of as much force in the breaſt of this humble mother as in thoſe of the higheſt ſtation. The father was as idle as uſual; and the attendance ſhe beſtowed on the ſick infant took up ſo much of that time which ſhe uſed to ſpend in labour, that a terrible want enſued. The mother could have borne this well enough herſelf, for ſhe had never been uſed to plenty; but the fate of a ſick infant, periſhing with want was too much for her to bear. After many fruitleſs attempts to borrow, and even to beg, relief, the anguiſh of her heart got the better at once of terror and of conſcience, and ſhe privately took a ſmall ſum of money from the houſe of a perſon who had been uſed to employ her. The money was ſoon miſſed; and the unfortunate mother, who had been begging in vain at the houſe, was ſuſpected; and, on ſearching her poor apartment, ſome of the very pieces the owner had miſſed were found. It was in vain the poor woman pleaded her known neceſſities; the owner of the money was deaf to all remonſtrances, and ſhe was ſent to priſon.

The huſband, who was rather of a thoughtleſs and idle than of a villainous diſpoſition, was now awakened to thought. He ſaw his wife often, and began to behave to her with more kindneſs than uſual, but that with a mixture of reſerve which ſhe could not underſtand. The truth was, that, finding the offence muſt be capital, (on account of forcing a lock to get at the money,) he fully determined to ſacrifice his own life, if neceſſary, to ſave her's, as he conſidered himſelf the moſt culpable, ſince his own idleneſs had driven her to this deſperate mode of endeavouring to preſerve her infant from perithing. In fine, he took care to be preſent at the trial; when the proofs appearing too plain againſt the woman to admit of evaſion or defence, the man, addreſſing himſelf to the judge, ſaid, "You will now ſee how little witneſſes are to be regarded: I alone committed the crime for which you are going to condemn this innocent woman; and I cannot ſee her ſuffer for it." He added circumſtances which he had before concerted in his mind, and which were ſo well laid together, that the very witneſſes came over to his opinion. The court was convinced, the woman acquitted, and ſentence paſſed upon him.

This may ſurely be inſtanced as the higheſt pitch of heroiſm, ſince the perſon ſeemed as far from the character of a great man and a hero as could poſſibly be. But the ſequel is ſtill more intereſting.—The unhappy woman, whoſe dread of death had made her for a moment connive at this act of generoſity in her huſband, could not bear, upon reflection, to ſee her huſband die for her offence. She therefore openly confeſſed her crime, and intreated that her huſband might not ſuffer unjuſtly.—The judge, who had not yet left the court, was ſtruck with ſuch an inſtance of mutual love and generoſity in the breaſts of people of this low rank, in both ſo much ſuperior to the fear of death. The concluſion of the ſtory is natural: a pardon was procured for both; and, as adverſity and danger had now doubly endeared them to each other, a life of induſtry and happineſs ſucceeded this terrible event.

Letters of Swift.

THE following two letters of Swift, were never before publiſhed. The originals are in the hands of a gentleman of Ireland, who has permitted this copy to be taken. The dean was

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thirty-one years of age, when he wrote the first of them. The second letter was addressed to the same gentleman, after an interval of thirty-three years: and in terms of unabated friendship. He was then in his sixty fourth year. The lady he alludes to under the name of Eliza, was probably miss Warring of Belfast. The Mr. Windar, to whom the letters are addressed, was, it is believed, grandfather of lord Macartney, and succeeded Swift in the prebend of Kilroot.

For the Rev. Mr. WINDAR, Prebendary of Kilroot—to be left at Belfast, in the county of Antrim, Ireland.

Moore Park, Jan. 13, 1698.

I am not likely to be so pleased with any thing again this good while, as I was with your letter of December 20th; and it has began to put me into a good opinion of my own merits, or at least my skill at negociation, to find I have so quickly restored a correspondence that I feared was declining; as it requires more charms and address in women to revive *one fainting flame*, than to kindle a dozen new ones. But I assure you, I was very far from imputing your silence to any bad cause, (having never entertained one single ill thought of you in my life) but to a custom which breaks off commerce between abundance of people, after a long absence. At first one omits writing for *a little while*, and then one stays *a while longer* to consider of excuses, and at last it grows *desperate*, and one *does not write at all*. At this rate I have served others, and have been served myself.

I wish I had a lexicon by me, to find whether your Greek word be spelt and accented right, and am very sorry you have made an *acutum in ultima*, as if you laid the greatest stress upon the worst part of the word. However, I protest against your meaning, or any interpretation you shall ever make of that nature out of my letters: If I thought you deserved any bitter words, I should either deliver them plainly, or hold my tongue altogether; for I esteem the custom of conveying one's resentments by *hints or innuendos*, to be a sign of malice or fear, or of too little sincerity; but I have told you, *coram et absens*, that you are in your nature more sensible than you need be, and I find it is with reputation as with all other possessions, that those who have the greatest portion, are most covetous of it.—'Tis hard you cannot be satisfied with the esteem of the best among your neighbours, but lose your time in regarding what may be thought of you by one of my privacy and distance. I wish you could as easily make my esteem and friendship for you to be of any value, as you may be sure to command them.

I should be sorry if you have been at an inconvenience in hastening my accounts, and I dare refer you to my letters, that they will lay the fault upon yourself; for I think I desired more than once, that you would not make more dispatch than stood with your ease, because I was in no haste at all.

I desired of you two or three times, that when you had sent me a catalogue of those few books, you would not send them to Dublin, till you had heard again from me. The reason was, that I did believe there were one or two of them that might have been useful to you, and one or two more that were not worth the carriage. Of the latter sort, were an old musty *Horace*, and Joley's book. Of the former were Reynold's Works. Collection of sermons in 4to. Stillingfleet's Grounds, &c. and the folio paper book, very good for sermons, or a receipt book for your wife, or to keep accounts of mutton, raisins, &c.

The *Sceptis Scientifica* is not mine, but old Mr. Dobbs's; and I wish it were restored. He has a Temple's Miscellanea instead of it, which is a good book worth your reading. If Sceptis Scientifica comes to me, I'll burn it for a fustian piece of abominable curious virtuoso stuff. The books missing are few and inconsiderable, not worth troubling any body about. I hope this will come to your hands before you have sent your cargo, that you may keep those books you mention, and

and desire you will write my name and *Ex Dono* before them in large letters. I desire my humble service to Mrs Windar, and that you will let her know I shall pay a visit at Carmoney some day or other—how little soever any of you may think of it; but I will, as you desire, excuse you the delivery of my compliments to poor *H. Clements*, and hope you will have much better fortune than poor Mr. Davis, who has left a family that is like to find a cruel want of him. Pray let me hear that you grow very rich and begin to make purchases. I never heard that H. Clements was dead, I was at his mayorall feast. Has he been mayor since, or did he die then, and every body forget to send me word of it?

These sermons you have thought fit to transcribe, will utterly disgrace you, unless you have so much credit, that whatever comes from *you* will pass. They were what I was firmly resolved to burn, and especially some of them; the idlest trifling stuff that ever was writ, calculated for a church without company, or a roof like our —— at Oxford. They will be a perfect lampoon upon me, whenever you look on them and remember that they are mine.

I remember these letters to Eliza; they were writ in my youth. You might have sealed them up and nobody of my friends would have opened them. Pray burn them. There were parcels of other papers that I would not have lost, and I hope you have packed them up, so that they may come to me. Some of them were abstracts and collections from reading.

You mention a dangerous rival for *an absent lover*. But I must take my fortune. If the report proceeds, pray inform me; and when you have leisure and humour, give me the pleasure of a letter from you: and though you are a man full of saftnings to the world, yet endeavour to continue a friendship in absence: for who knows but fate may jumble us together again, and I believe had I been —— of your neighbourhood, I should not have been so unsatisfied with the region I was planted in. I am, and will be ever, entirely yours, &c

J. Swift.

Pray let me know something of my debt being paid to Tailer, the innkeeper of —— I have forgot the name of the town, between Dromore and Newry.

To the Rev. Mr. Windar at Belfast.

Dublin, February 19, 1731-2

Sir,

I had the favour of yours of the 6th instant. I have been above a fortnight confined by an accidental strain, and can neither ride, nor walk, nor easily write; else you should have heard from me sooner. I am heartily sorry for your disorder, and am the more sensible by those I have myself, though not of the same kind, but a constant disposition to giddiness, which I fear my present confinement, with the want of exercise, will increase. I am afraid you could not light upon a more unqualified man to serve *you* or my dearest friends, in any manner, with people in power. For I have the misfortune to be not only under the displeasure both of the king and queen, as every body knows, but likewise of every person both in England and Ireland, who is well with the court, or can do me good or hurt. And although this, and the two last lieutenants were of my old acquaintance, yet I never could prevail with any of them to give a living to a sober, grave clergyman, who married my near relation, and has long been in the church, so that he still is my curate; and I reckon this present governor will do like the rest. I believe there is not any person you see from this town, who does not know that my situation is as I describe. If you, or your son, were in favour with any bishop or patron, perhaps it might be contrived to have them put in mind, or solicited; but I am no way proper to be the first mover, because there is not one spiritual or temporal lord in Ireland, whom I visit, or by whom, I am visited; but am as mere a monk as any in;

Spain; and there is not a clergyman on the top of a mountain, who ſo little converſes with mankind, or is ſo little regarded by them, on any other account except ſhewing malice. All this I bear as well as I can; eat my morſel alone, *like a king*; and conſtantly at home, when I am not riding, or walking, which I do often and *always alone*.

I give you this picture of myſelf, out of old friendſhip; from whence you may judge, what ſhare of ſpirits and mirth are now left me; yet I cannot read at night, and am therefore forced to ſcribble ſomething, whereof nine things in ten are burned next morning. Forgive this tediouſneſs in the pen; which I acquire by the want of ſpending it in talk. And believe me to be with true eſteem and friendſhip,

Your moſt obedient, &c.

An Hiſtorical Account of the Habæs Corpus Act.

OF writs of *Habeas Corpus*, for removing priſoners from one court into another, for the more eaſy adminiſtration of juſtice, there are various kinds. But with reſpect to *Falſe Impriſonment*, the great and efficacious writ is the writ of *Habeas Corpus ad ſubjiciendum*, which is directed to the perſon detaining another, and commanding him to produce the body of the priſoner, with the day and cauſe of his caption and detention, *ad faciendum, ſubjiciendum, et recipiendum*, to do, ſubmit to, and receive whatſoever the judge or court awarding ſuch writ ſhall conſider in that behalf. This is a high prerogative writ, and therefore by the common law iſſuing out of the court of king's bench, not only in term-time, but alſo during the vacation, by a *fiat* from the chief-juſtice, or any other of the judges, and running into all parts of the king's dominions: for the king is at all times intitled to have an account why the liberty of any of his ſubjects is reſtrained, wherever that reſtraint may be inflicted. If it iſſues in vacation, it is uſually returnable before the judge himſelf who awarded it, and he proceeds by himſelf thereon; unleſs the term ſhould intervene, and then it may be returned in court. Indeed, if the party were privileged in the courts of common pleas and exchequer, as being an officer or ſuitor of the court, an *habeas corpus ad ſubjiciendum* might alſo have been awarded from thence; and if the cauſe of impriſonment were palpably illegal, they might have diſcharged him: but if he were committed for any criminal matter, they could only have remanded him, or taken bail for his appearance in the court of king's-bench; which occaſioned the common pleas to diſcountenance ſuch applications. It hath alſo been ſaid, and by very reſpectable authorities, that the like *habeas corpus* may iſſue out of the court of chancery in vacation: but, upon the famous application to lord Nottingham by Jenks, notwithſtanding the moſt diligent ſearches, no precedent could be found where the chancellor had iſſued ſuch a writ in vacation; and therefore his lordſhip refuſed it.

In the court of king's bench it was, and is ſtill, neceſſary to apply for it by motion to the court, as in the caſe of all other prerogative writs (*certiorari*, prohibition, *mandamus*, &c.) which do not iſſue as of mere courſe, without ſhowing ſome probable cauſe why the extraordinary power of the crown is called in to the party's aſſiſtance. For, as was argued by lord chief juſtice Vaughan, 'it is granted on motion, becauſe it cannot be had of courſe; and there is therefore no *neceſſity* to grant it: for the court ought to be ſatisfied that the party had a probable cauſe to be delivered.' And this ſeems the more reaſonable, becauſe when once granted, the perſon to whom it is directed can return no ſatisfactory excuſe for not bringing up the body of the priſoner. So that, if it is iſſued of mere courſe, without ſhewing to the court or judge ſome reaſonable ground for awarding it, a traitor or felon under ſentence of death, a ſoldier or mariner in the king's ſervice, a wife, a child, a relation, or a domeſtic, confined for inſanity or other prudential reaſons, might obtain a temporary enlargement by ſuing out a *habeas corpus*, though ſure to be remanded as ſoon as brought up to the court.

court. And therefore ſir Edward Coke, when chief juſtice, did not ſcruple, in 13 Jac. I, to deny a *habeas corpus*, to one confined by the court of admirality for piracy; there appearing, upon his own ſhowing, ſufficient grounds to confine him. On the other hand, if a probable ground be ſhown, that the party is impriſoned without juſt cauſe, and therefore has a right to be delivered, the writ of *habeas corpus* is then a writ of right, which 'may not be denied, but ought to be granted to every man that is committed, or detained in priſon, or otherwiſe reſtrained, though it be by the command of the king, the privy-council, or any other.'

The perſonal liberty of the ſubject is a natural inherent right, which cannot be ſurrendered or forfeited unleſs by the commiſſion of ſome great and atrocious crime, and which ought not to be abridged in any caſe without the ſpecial permiſſion of law. A doctrine coeval with the firſt rudiments of our conſtitution; and handed down to us from the Anglo-Saxons, notwithſtanding all their ſtruggles with the Danes, and the violence of the Norman conqueſt: aſſerted afterward and confirmed by the conqueror himſelf and his deſcendants: and though ſometimes a little impaired by the ferocity of the times, and the occaſional deſpotiſm of jealous or uſurping princes, yet eſtabliſhed on the firmeſt baſis by the proviſions of *magna charta*, and a long ſucceſſion of ſtatutes enacted under Edward III. To aſſert an abſolute exemption from impriſonment in all caſes is inconſiſtent with every idea of law and political ſociety; and in the end would deſtroy all civil liberty, by rendering its protection impoſſible: but the glory of the Engliſh law conſiſts in clearly defining the times, the cauſes, and the extent, when, wherefore, and to what degree, the impriſonment of the ſubject may be lawful. This it is which induces the abſolute neceſſity of expreſſing upon every commitment the reaſon for which it is made; that the court, upon a *habeas corpus*, may examine into its validity; and according to the circumſtances of the caſe may diſcharge, admit to bail, or remand the priſoner.

And yet, early in the reign of Charles I, the court of king's-bench, relying on ſome arbitrary precedents (and thoſe perhaps miſunderſtood) determined that they could not upon a *habeas corpus* either bail or deliver a priſoner, though committed without any cauſe aſſigned, in caſe he was committed by the ſpecial command of the king, or by the lords of the privy-council. This drew on a parliamentary inquiry, and produced the *petition of right*, 3 Car. I, which recites this illegal judgment, and enacts that no freeman hereafter ſhall be ſo impriſoned or detained. But when, in the following year, Mr. Selden and others were committed by the lords of the council, in purſuance of his majeſty's ſpecial command, under a general charge of 'notable contempts and ſtirring up ſedition againſt the king and government,' the judges delayed for two terms (including alſo the long vacation) to deliver an opinion how far ſuch a charge was bailable; and when at length they agreed that it was, they however annexed a condition of finding ſureties for their good behaviour, which ſtill protracted their impriſonment; the chief juſtice ſir Nicholas Hyde, at the ſame time declaring, that 'if they were again remanded for that cauſe, perhaps the court would not afterward grant a *habeas corpus*, being already made acquainted with the cauſe of the impriſonment. But this was heard with indignation and aſtoniſhment by every lawyer preſent; according to Mr. Selden's own account of the matter, whoſe reſentment was not cooled at the diſtance of four and twenty years.

Theſe pitiful evaſions gave riſe to the ſtatute 16 Cha. I. ch. 10. ſec. 8. whereby it is enacted, that if any perſon be committed by the king himſelf in perſon, or by his privy council, or by any of the members thereof, he ſhall have granted unto him, without any delay upon any pretence whatſoever, a writ of *habeas corpus*, upon demand or motion made to the court of king's-bench or common-pleas; who ſhall thereupon, within three court-days after the return is made, examine and determine the

egality of ſuch commitment, and do what to juſtice ſhall appertain, in delivering, bailing, or remanding ſuch priſoner. Yet ſtill in the caſe of Jenks, before alluded to, who in 1676, was committed by the king in council for a turbulent ſpeech at Guildhall, new ſhifts and devices were made uſe of to prevent his enlargement by law; the chief juſtice (as well as the chancellor) declining to award a writ of *habeas corpus ad ſubjiciendum* in vacation, though at laſt he thought proper to award the uſual writs *ad del berandum*, &c. whereby the priſoner was diſcharged at the Old Bailey. Other abuſes had alſo crept into daily practice, which had in ſome meaſure defeated the benefit of this great conſtitutional remedy. The party impriſoning was at liberty to delay his obedience to the firſt writ, and might wait till a ſecond and a third, called an *alias* and a *pluries*, were iſſued, before he produced the party: and many other vexatious ſhifts were practiſed to detain ſtate-priſoners in cuſtody. But whoever will attentively conſider the Engliſh hiſtory, may obſerve, that the flagrant abuſe of any power, by the crown or its miniſters, has always been productive of a ſtruggle; which either diſcovers the exerciſe of that power to be contrary to law, or (if legal) reſtrains it for the future. This was the caſe in the preſent inſtance. The oppreſſion of an obſcure individual gave birth to the famous *habeas corpus* act, 31 Car. II, ch. 2. which is frequently conſidered as another *magna charta* of the kingdom; and by conſequence has alſo in ſubſequent times reduced the method of proceeding on theſe writs (though not within the reach of that ſtatute, but iſſuing merely at the common law) to the true ſtandard of law and liberty.

The ſtatute itſelf enacts, 1. That the writ ſhall be returned and the priſoner brought up, within a limited time, according to the diſtance, not exceeding in any caſe twenty days. 2. That ſuch writs ſhall be endorſed, as granted in purſuance of this act, and ſigned by the perſon awarding them. 3. That on complaint and requeſt in writing by or on behalf of any perſon committed and charged with any crime (unleſs committed for treaſon or felony expreſſed in the warrant, or for ſuſpicion of the ſame, or as acceſſary thereto before the fact, or convicted or charged in execution by legal proceſs) the lord chancellor, or any of the twelve judges in vacation, upon viewing a copy of the warrant, or affidavit that a copy is denied, ſhall (unleſs the party has neglected for two terms to apply to any court for his enlargement) award a *habeas corpus* for ſuch priſoner, returnable immediately before himſelf or any other of the judges; and upon the return made ſhall diſcharge the party, if bailable, upon giving ſecurity to appear and anſwer to the accuſation in the proper court of judicature. 4. That officers and keepers neglecting to make due returns, or not delivering to the priſoner or his agent within ſix hours after demand, a copy of the warrant of commitment, or ſhifting the cuſtody of a priſoner from one to another without ſufficient reaſon or authority (ſpecified in the act) ſhall for the firſt offence forfeit 100l. and for the ſecond offence 200l. to the party grieved, and be diſabled to hold his office. 5. That no perſon, once delivered by *habeas corpus*, ſhall be recommitted for the ſame offence, on penalty of 500l. 6. That every perſon committed for treaſon or felony ſhall, if he requires it the firſt week of the next term, or the firſt day of the next ſeſſion of *oyer* and *terminer*, be indicted in that term or ſeſſion, or elſe admitted to bail; unleſs the king's witneſſes cannot be produced at that time: and if acquitted, or if not indicted and tried in the ſecond term or ſeſſion, he ſhall be diſcharged from his impriſonment for ſuch imputed offence: but that no perſon, after the aſſizes ſhall be opened for the county in which he is detained, ſhall be removed by *habeas corpus*, till after the aſſizes are ended; but ſhall be left to the juſtice of the judges of aſſize. 7. That any ſuch priſoner may move for and obtain his *habeas corpus*, as well out of the chancery or exchequer as out of the king's-bench or common-pleas; and the lord chancellor or judges denying the ſame, on ſight of the warrant, or oath that the

ſame

ſame is refuſed, forfeit ſeverally to the party grieved the ſum of 500l. 8. That the writ of *habeas corpus* ſhall run into the counties palatine, cinque ports, and other privileged places, and the iſlands of Jerſey and Guernſey. 9. That no inhabitant of England (except perſons contracting, or convicts praying to be tranſported; or having committed ſome capital offence in the place to which they are ſent) ſhall be ſent priſoner to Scotland, Ireland, Jerſey, Guernſey, or any places beyond the ſeas, within or without the king's dominions: on pain that the party committing, his adviſers, aiders, and aſſiſtants, ſhall forfeit to the party grieved a ſum not leſs than 500l. to be recovered with treble coſts; ſhall be diſabled to bear any office of truſt or profit; ſhall incur the penalties of *præmunire*; and ſhall be incapable of the king's pardon.

This is the ſubſtance of that great and important ſtatute: which extends (we may obſerve) only to the caſe of commitments for ſuch criminal charge as can produce no inconvenience to public juſtice by a temporary enlargement of the priſoner; all other caſes of unjuſt impriſonment being left to the *habeas corpus* at common law. But even upon writs at the common law it is now expected by the court, agreeable to ancient precedents, and the ſpirit of the act of parliament, that the writ ſhould be immmediately obeyed without waiting for any *alias* or *pluries*; otherwiſe an attachment will iſſue. By which admirable regulations, judicial as well as parliamentary, the remedy is now complete for removing the injury of unjuſt and illegal confinement. A remedy the more neceſſary, becauſe the oppreſſion does not always ariſe from the ill-nature, but ſometimes from the mere inattention, of government. For it frequently happens in foreign countries (and has happened in England during the temporary ſuſpenſions of the ſtatute) that perſons apprehended upon ſuſpicion have ſuffered a long impriſonment, merely becauſe they were forgotten.

An Account of James Bruce, Esq.

THE death of this gentleman will probably be the means of reviving thoſe enquiries which formerly employed the public attention reſpecting his travels into Abyſſinia, and at the ſame time it demands from us ſuch particulars of his life as have come to our knowledge.—He was born in Scotland, about the year 1729, of an ancient and reſpectable family which had been in poſſeſſion for ſeveral centuries of ſome of the eſtates which he owned at the time of his deceaſe. Indeed Mr. Bruce more than intimates that he was deſcended from ſome ancient kings. At an early period he was ſent for education to a boarding-ſchool at or near Hoxton, where his acquaintance commenced with ſeveral reſpectable perſons, and particularly ſome of the family of the Barringtons, whoſe friendſhip he retained to the end of his life. Returning to Scotland, he experienced from his father, who had given him a ſtep-mother, a degree of ill treatment which occaſioned him to reſolve on quitting his country. He accordingly came to London, and ſoon afterwards married the daughter of Mr. Allen, a wine merchant, with whom he continued the wine trade during ſeveral years. An indiſpoſition of his wife, which terminated in her death, induced him to carry her to France, and the loſs of her, it may be conjectured, inclined him to continue his travels. At the latter end of the earl of Chatham's miniſtry, about 1761, he returned from a tour through the greateſt part of Europe, particularly through the whole of Spain and Portugal, and was about to retire to his ſmall patrimony, in order to embrace a life of ſtudy and reflection, when chance threw him into a very ſhort and deſultory converſation with that nobleman. He ſoon afterwards received an intimation of a deſign to employ him, which proved abortive by the reſignation of his intended patron. He then received ſome encouragement from lord

Egremont

Egremont and Mr. George Grenville, and in a ſhort time a propoſal from lord Halliſax to explore the coaſt of Barbary, to which he acceded. The conſulſhip of Algiers becoming vacant at this juncture (1763), he was appointed to it, and immediately ſet out for Italy. At Rome he received orders to proceed to Naples, from whence he again returned to Rome. He then went to Leghorn, and from thence proceeded to Algiers.

He ſpent a year at Algiers, and having a facility in acquiring languages, in that time qualified himſelf for appearing on any part of the continent without an interpreter; but at this inſtant orders arrived from England for him to wait for further orders as conſul. He accordingly remained in his poſt until 1765.

In June, 1764, he ſolicited leave of abſence from the ſecretary of ſtate to make ſome drawings of antiquities near Tunis. He had before this been to Mahon and the coaſt of Africa. He was ſhip-wrecked on the coaſt of Tunis, and plundered of all his property.

In 1768, we find him at Aleppo, and in Auguſt that year was at Cairo, from whence he proceeded to Abyſſinia, which he is ſuppoſed to have entered either the latter end of that year, or the beginning of 1769. His ſtay in that country was about four years, as he returned to Cairo the 15th of January 1773. The tranſactions of this period form the ſubſtance of the five volumes of his travels, publiſhed in 1790.

During Mr. Bruce's abſence, his relations conſidering him as dead, took ſome meaſures to poſſeſs themſelves of his property, which they were near ſucceeding in, when he returned home. Soon afterwards he took an effectual method of diſappointing any future hopes, by a ſecond marriage, the conſequence of which was, one, if, not more, children. In 1784, his lady died, and in 1790, he publiſhed his travels, a new edition of which was negociating with a bookſeller at the time of his death, which happened at Kinnaird the latter end of April laſt, owing to a fall down his ſtaircaſe, in which he diſlocated his breaſt-bone.

The following account of Mr. Bruce is extracted from a late traveller, Mr. LETTICE, who viſited him in the autumn of 1792.

"*Linlithgow, Sept*, 25, 1792.

"It was impoſſible to be within two miles of Kinnaird, and to quit the neighbourhood without wiſhing to offer our reſpects to the Abyſſinian traveller, and requeſting permiſſion to inſpect his muſeum,

"The latter point being obtained fortunately gave us an opportunity of ſeeing Mr. Bruce himſelf, who received us with flattering marks of attention. When we had taken ſome refreſhment, he was obliging enough to accompany us to his muſeum, and to direct his librarian's ſearch for ſuch objects as he thought likely to intereſt our curioſity: upon many of them he himſelf commented in a very agreeable manner, relating at the ſame time ſeveral little incidents and anecdotes connected with the occaſions of procuring them, which enhanced both our entertainment and information. This repoſitory occupies a large room, and its valuable furniture is arranged in a number of neat glazed cabinets, each having a cupboard below it, beautifully painted with the figure of ſome curious object of natural hiſtory, deſcribed by Mr. Bruce in his African tour; many of them found on the coaſts of the Red Sea and the Nile. This muſeum conſiſts, as you will imagine, not ſolely of articles from the animal, vegetable, and mineral kingdoms, of curious petrifactions, luſus naturæ, &c. but has many rare ſpecimens of art diſtinguiſhed by their ſingularity, or exquiſite workmanſhip; and laſtly, a collection of Abyſſinian and Arabian manuſcripts.

"As, after a curſory ſurvey of ſome thouſand articles, without an opportunity of making notes whilſt the objects are before the eye, it is impoſſible to be ſure that the moſt curious may not have eſcaped the memory, I find little inclination to ſpecify thoſe which mine may have retained. If I mention, among the petrifactions, a horſe's knee agatized, or ſpeak of ſtones more curiouſly reticulated than perhaps moſt

other

other collections can exhibit, it is with the mortification of having forgotten many things more worthy of curiosity. Ores of every description you will naturally anticipate. The variety and splendor of the sea-shells, not to mention the novelty of many of them, is scarcely to be equalled elsewhere. Among the reptile kind, none perhaps more deservedly claimed our notice than the serpent consulted in divination; but of that, you know, Mr. Bruce has particularly treated in his book.

"Among the artificial curiosities which were shewn us, was a drinking cup, or goblet, with four heads, embossed round the outside; an antique from Rhodes; and a model of it executed at Glasgow, in a manner highly creditable to the skill of the British artist. Any thing relative to the Nile, the first object of the Abyssinian traveller, was sure to attach every spectator; and Mr. Bruce himself seemed not unpleasantly interested in displaying his invention to measure the rise and fall of that river: a brazen bar with a graduated scale ingeniously converted* to that purpose from some cramps used in the arches of Egyptian cisterns: nor did he, perhaps, with less feeling call our attention to the hilt of a spear marked by bullets discharged at himself, but fortunately missing aim, in an encounter with a desperate banditti of assassins and robbers.

"Had Horace himself been at our elbow, and, *vivâ voce*, sounded in our ears—

Nil admirari prope res est una, Numici,
&c.

it had been impossible not to have felt a paroxysm of admiration when, next, we beheld two cups made from the horns of the very bullock who roared through them no sounds of welcome to the bloody banquet furnished from his own living flesh to the royal epicures of Gondar; two cups turned by the delicate hand of one of his Abyssinian majesty's daughters, and presented by herself to Mr. Bruce, as a memorial of his entertainment and reception at that polite court.

"Last of all we were favoured with inspection of the cabinet of manuscripts, written upon parchment of goat-skins, and manufactured by the priests of those countries. From the account which Mr. Bruce has given of the low state of religion and science in Arabia, it is but too probable that the priesthood, a channel through which all the literature of Europe since the revival of letters has first been derived to our enlightened quarter of the globe, has in Abyssinia contributed little else to the extension of knowledge than the material substance of books.

"Mr. Bruce mentioned to us, that thirty different languages were spoken in the camp of one of the caravans in which he had occasionally travelled on the continent of Africa, and that it was his desire to have procured a translation of the "Song of Solomon" (from the Arabic I believe) into them all. This was executed for him in ten of them, beautifully written in Æthiopic characters, and each in a different coloured ink to prevent a confusion of tongues, which, in this instance, had certainly not been miraculous. To spare the ears of the unlearned, and perhaps, at some moments his own recollection, he calls these languages, with some humour, the red, blue, green, or yellow languages, &c. according to the colour of its character. Upon Mr. Bruce's shewing these manuscripts to a lady distinguished for the vivacity of her remark, and informing her that the word *kiss*, which occurs in Solomon's song, is to be met with, expressing the same idea in some passages of his rain-bow of languages, she pleasantly observed to him—"I always told you, Mr. Bruce, that kissing is the same all the world over."

"Before we departed Mr. Bruce obligingly accompanied us to an inclosure in his park to shew us his Abyssinian sheep. They are entirely white, except their heads, which are black. Their tails are large, and, indeed, the animal is larger than our common sheep. They are extremely tame, and often very frolicksome

NOTE.

* Under the distressing circumstance, I think he said, of having been deprived, by some accident of his mathematical apparatus.

frolickſome. The three or four remaining in Mr. Bruce's poſſeſſion are unfortunately all males. One of them bred with a ſhe goat, but the offſpring died.

"Except a month or two in ſummer, which Mr. Bruce paſſes upon an eſtate in the highlands, he ſpends the reſt of the year chiefly at Kinnaird, divided betwixt his muſeum, his books, and his rural improvements, in elegant retirement and lettered converſation. This latter eſtate has deſcended to him from anceſtors of his name, who have ſucceſſively poſſeſſed it upwards of 380 years. He has rebuilt the family manſion ſince his return from his travels. In what we ſaw of it, good taſte and convenience equally prevailed. The park appears to be well wooded and pleaſant, and his ſituation commands ſome of the fineſt views of the Forth. His muſeum, every article of which, by aſſociation of ideas, muſt recal ſome incident, ſome ſcene, ſome object new or ſtrange in his travels, cannot but be to him a fund of perpetual entertainment and delight, which, through the liberality of his character, as a man of learning, and a citizen of the world, he freely communicates to all who can have any pretenſions to approach him.

"As every thing is intereſting that relates to extraordinary men, you will not be diſpleaſed with a trait or two of the Abyſſinian traveller's perſon. His figure is above the common ſize, his limbs athletic, but well proportioned; his complexion ſanguine, his countenance manly and good humoured, and his manners eaſy and polite. The whole outward man is ſuch as announces a character well calculated to contend with the difficulties and trying occaſions which ſo extraordinary a journey was ſure to throw in his way. That his internal character, the features of his underſtanding and his heart, correſpond with theſe outward lineaments, you who have read his work cannot be at any loſs to know."

A Tale of Diſtreſs.

Mr. Editor,

YOUR well-known humanity, in all caſes of diſtreſs, has encouraged me to lay before you my unhappy circumſtances; and, ſhould you think them worthy of publication, you will add one more friend to your juſtly numerous admirers.

I am a country gentleman, reſiding in the north, with a clear eſtate of twelve hundred pounds a year, and was many years married before I was bleſſed with a ſon, the ſubject of this letter, who has now reached his ſeventeenth year, and was every thing that my fondeſt wiſhes could point out till he became acquainted with an R. I. A. ſince which period he contracted a taſte for antiquity, commenced virtuoſo, and rambled over the whole country in ſearch of old coin and heathen altars, which are erected in every room of my houſe, and which, a friend of mine juſtly remarked, looked more like a temple of Jupiters and Junos than a gentleman's houſe.

A friend of my ſon's lately paid him a viſit, who, I think, has more antiquity madneſs about him than my ſon himſelf. They were conſtantly poring over antiquities; all other employments were neglected for them; and all their ambition was to become an R. I. A. They make themſelves ridiculous in the company of their friends; the one is always ſwearing by the head of *Helvius Pertinax*, of which he has a coin; the other by the beard of *Septimius Severus*; and, what is worſe, they have affronted half the young ladies in the country by telling them they will never marry unleſs they can get wives as handſome as *Annia Fauſtina*, *Barbia Orbianna*, or ſome other Dulcinea of antiquity.

Sometimes I perceive them in deep ſtudy over a piece of copper as plain as a common halfpenny; and, after long conſideration, ſurveying it through a dozen glaſſes, they generally agree it is *eximiæ raritatis*. This, I always ſuppoſed, meant of no value; yet they preſerve it with the greateſt care.

I am under the greateſt apprehenſions that my ſon will be poiſoned, as unfortunately, his friend brought along with him a book which pretends to teach the age of a piece of money by its taſte; and their experiments on old copper are become ſo frequent, that, from being freſh-coloured lads, they

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are turned quite yellow. As they read your Magazine every month, the inſertion of this, with ſuch advice as any of your correſpondents may hereafter be pleaſed to give them, will be thankfully received by Yours, &c. R. F.

British Theatre.

April 21, 1794.

DRURY Lane Theatre opened for the performance of dramatic pieces to a crouded and brilliant audience, with the tragedy of *Macbeth*, and the farce of *The Virgin Unmaſked*. The performance of the play received all the aſſiſtance which the beſt actors belonging to the theatre could afford it. All the parts were well ſupported; and Mr. Kemble and Mrs Siddons diſplayed their accuſtomed excellence in the two principal characters. On this occaſion, ſome alterations were made with great judgment, particularly the omiſſion of the viſible appearance of the Ghoſt of Banquo, which ſome of the beſt judges of the drama had long ſince recommended the excluſion of. Mr. Lloyd, in his admirable poem of "The Actor," publiſhed in 1761, has the following lines:

But, in ſtage cuſtoms, what offends me moſt,
Is the ſlip-door and ſlowly-riſing ghoſt.
Tell me, nor count the queſtion too ſevere,
Why need the diſmal powder'd forms appear?
When chilling horrors ſhake the affrighted king,
And guilt torments him with her ſcorpion ſting;
When keeneſt feelings at his boſom pull,
And fancy tells him that the ſeat is full;
Why need the ghoſt uſurp the monarch's place,
To frighten children with his mealy face?
The king alone ſhould form the phantom there,
And talk and tremble at the vacant chair.

The propriety of this criticiſm having been now brought to the teſt, we think ourſelves warranted to give our opinion in favour of the alteration. For the future, we hope the Ghoſt of Banquo will ſhare the fate of the Ghoſts of Jaffier and Pierre (who formerly uſed to ſhew themſelves with great abſurdity in the laſt act of *Venice Preſerved*) and the dancing ſpirits in *King Henry the VIIIth*. Some improvements were alſo introduced in the dreſſes of Hecate and the witches; and the ſcenery and embelliſhments were characteriſtical and ſplendid.

Mr. Charles Kemble made his firſt appearance on the London ſtage in Malcolm, and ſhewed himſelf to poſſeſs ſome ſhare of the excellent talents of his family. He received much applauſe.

29.] *Britiſh Fortitude and Hibernian Friendſhip; or, an Eſcape from France*, a muſical Drama, was acted the firſt time at Covent Garden. This piece, as it was acted for the benefit of Mr. Johnſtone, ſo it derived every advantage from his performance.

May 2.] *Naples Bay; or the Britiſh Sailors at Anchor*, a muſical interlude, ſaid to be written by Mr. Croſs, author of "*The Purſe*," was acted the firſt time at Covent Garden for the benefit of Mr. Incledon. This trifle, by the aſſiſtance of the performers, met with applauſe.

8.] *The Jew*, a comedy, by Mr. Cumberland, was acted the firſt time at Drury-lane. The characters as follow:

Sheba, the Jew,	Mr. Banniſter, jun.
Sir Stephen Bertram,	Mr. Aickin.
Frederick Bertram,	Mr. Palmer.
Mr. Ratcliff,	Mr. Wroughton.
Jabel, Servant to the Jew,	Mr. Suett.
Mrs. Ratcliff,	Mrs. Hopkins.
Eliza Ratcliff,	Miſs Farren.
Dorcas,	Miſs Tidſwell.

Sheba, the Jew, has the character of being an uſurer and a miſer, while in fact his heart is feelingly alive to every noble ebullition of philanthropy. He is even ſeeking occaſions of performing charitable actions by ſtealth. He is the broker of Sir Stephen, a rich merchant, who wiſhes to marry his only ſon to a

lady with a fortune of 10,000l.—Mr. Ratcliff is the heir of an ancient family, whose father was a merchant in Spain, but, reduced in circumstances, and having a mother and sister to provide for, he is obliged to engage himself as sir Stephen's clerk. Frederick and he become warm friends; and the former, admitted on terms of familiarity into his family, becomes enamoured of Eliza, who privately marries him. Frederick applies to the Jew for money, on any terms, to relieve the distress of Mrs. Ratcliff and her family—Sheba not only lends him money in the most liberal manner, but, understanding that his father had turned him out of his house on account of his marrying a beggar, generously resolves to make up Eliza's fortune to the sum which sir Stephen expected with his son's wife. This is made known to the old gentleman by Sheba himself, in the most natural and interesting manner. Sir Stephen goes to the lodgings of his son, whom he finds absent, in consequence of a quarrel with Mr. Ratcliff, whose pride was injured at his cladestine marriage with his sister. Frederick and Ratcliff fight at a tavern, whither they are followed by the benevolent Jew, who has intimation of their misunderstanding, and Ratcliff is wounded in the hand. While Sir Stephen and Mrs. Bertram are expressing their apprehensions, in consequence of a letter written by Frederick to his father, upon the supposition of a fatal issue to his quarrel, they enter; and after mutual explanations and congratulations, Sheba is brought in, who discovers in Mrs. Ratcliff the widow of the man who had once saved him from the Inquisition, as Ratcliff had recently done from the brutality of a London mob. The piece ends happily with a reconciliation of all parties, and the determination of the Jew to leave Ratcliff his heir.

The language of *The Jew*, is spirited; full of observation; far from deficient in wit; and the sentiment in general not pressed into the service, but is the volunteer of the occasion. Some curtailment in the serious part, perhaps, may be necessary, to give a more cheerful effect to the whole.

9.] *Love and Honour*, an operatic piece, in one act, was performed the first time at Covent Garden for the benefit of Mrs. Martyr. The characters are as follow:

William,	Mr. Incledon.
Lieutenant Capstern,	Mr. Johnstone.
Dick,	Mr. Blanchard.
Grapple,	Mr. Townshend.
Farmer Ploughfield,	Mr. Thompson.
Clodpole,	Mr. Rees.
Hobnail,	Mr. Abbot.
Mary,	Mrs. Martyr.

The subject of this little piece may be given in a few words. Mary understanding that her sweetheart William (a sailor) was stationed in India, resolves, instead of staying at home, moping and lamenting his absence, to enter on shipboard (under the disguise of a sailor) in pursuit of him. For this purpose she sets off for Portsmouth, accompanied by her brother Dick, who endeavours to persuade her to drop the enterprize, and return back—striving at the same time, to alarm her fears of being taken and carried to France, or of what she may suffer on shipboard for her idle pranks.—In the mean time, William appears to have landed, having just escaped from shipwreck, but saved his property; and on his return to see his father, and his sweetheart Mary, is taken by a press gang, a division of which having also fallen in with Mary, is the means of an interview being effected between the lovers, at the critical moment when they might have been separated for ever.—The Lieutenant of the press-gang, who appears also to have felt the shafts of love, dismisses William on Mary's discovering herself, and permits the lovers to return home happy.

This piece was very favourably received.

13] A new Afterpiece, called *The Packet Boat*; *or*, *A Peep behind the Veil*, was performed, at Covent Garden, for the benefit of Mr. Munden. It is the production of Mr. Birch, jun. of Cornhill. The characters were as follow:

Woodford,

Woodford, -	Mr. Incledon.
Supple, -	Mr. Quick.
Scamper, -	Mr. Munden.
Captain O'Phœnix,	Mr. Johnſtone.
Vintage, -	Mr. Powel.
Midſhip, -	Mr. Croſs.
Iſidora, -	Miſs Poole.
Jaquelina, -	Mrs. Martyr.
Commode, -	Mrs. Watts.

Paſſengers, Officers, Sailors.

FABLE.

Woodford being diſappointed in an attachment to Iſidora, whom he ſuppoſes deſtined for another, leaves his country, with his ſervant Scamper, and take the tour of Europe: On his return he croſſes the channel in the ſame packet-boat with Iſidora, who having been obliged to take the veil by the auſterity of her father, now neceſſarily returns to England, on the ſuppreſſion of thoſe houſes in France. On their landing, they are lodged at Supple's, a ſmuggler, the hotel being full; and Woodford, being in the hotel, imagines Iſidora muſt be there too, from the circumſtance of a miniature picture of him being found in the packet-boat. Jaquelina accompanies Iſidora in a man's habit for the ſake of protection and contrives a meeting with her lover, Captain Phœnix, on her landing, who meets at the hotel with his friend Woodford.—Jaquelina coming to claim the miniature of Woodford, brings about the concluſive explanation.

This *petite piece* does credit to the friendſhip and talents of the writer. It was well ſupported and received with much applauſe. The muſic, by ATWOOD, was, in many parts, very pretty.

On Monday, May 19, a piece of three acts, intitled, The SIEGE of MEAUX, was performed at Covent-Garden theatre, for the firſt time. It is the production of Mr. Pye, the poet-laureat, and is drawn from a period in the hiſtory of France, when an anarchy partially prevailed in that country little ſhort of that which at preſent deſolates it univerſally. This furniſhes an opportunity for introducing the interference of England, to the honour of the Britiſh character. The play was received with applauſe, well acted, and given out for future repreſentation.

The prologue was ſpoken by Mr. Middleton, and the epilogue by Mrs. Pope.

On Wedneſday, May 21, a new muſical Drama of two acts, was performed at the ſame theatre, called The SPEECHLESS WIFE, ſaid to be written by a lady, founded on Gray's well-known tale of the Wiſhes; on which an opera, called Belphegor, was founded, and performed at Drury-lane about fourteen years ago.

The three unguarded wiſhes of the wood cutter are here made—'for a bowl of punch,'—'that his talkative wife might be dumb.'—and 'that ſhe might recover her ſpeech.' The buſineſs of the piece having no great ſhare of intereſt, it was not favouraby received by the audience.

Anecdote of Marat.

WHEN this unprincipled and ſanguinary demagogue was in England, ſome years ago, wiſhing well, no doubt, to the happineſs of that kingdom which had afforded him an aſylum, he wrote in French a book called "Les Fers ou les Chaines de l'Eſclavage." He found ſome good ſoul, however, in London, who tranſlated it into Engliſh in one volume quarto, with this title, "The Chains of Slavery." A few copies of this daring and impudent book were ſold. Marat had in early life written upon fire, and upon electricity. Happy had it been for mankind had he confined his exertions to the material fire, and had not extended them to the ſpiritual fire; he had not then inflamed the minds of [illegible]is deluded countrymen with thoſe principles of conflagration, which, if not timely prevented, threaten the deſtruction of every thing that has hitherto been held ſacred amongſt wiſe and poliſhed nations.

On the beſt Method of Providing for the Poor.

(Concluded from p. 448.)

NOTHING is more eaſy than for a few trials to be made in ſmall manufacturing towns, and in country diſtricts where agriculture is the chief employment of the poor. This at leaſt muſt be allowed to be true, as to the mode of proceeding, the general earnings of the poor coming weekly through the hands of the gentlemen, tradeſmen, and farmers, near whom they live. But a ſerious doubt has ariſen, whether farmers ſervants be not worſe paid for labour than any other, and conſequently leaſt capable of ſparing a ſmall weekly contribution? If this be the caſe, it is a ſubject of much regret, ſeeing that of all deſcriptions of labourers theſe are the moſt uſeful and eſſential. This ſubject is worthy of general conſideration; and a general agreement in moſt counties, to increaſe the pay of labourers in huſbandry, ſeems indeed, from the common ſenſe of the public, to be neceſſary. It may be a difficulty to fix the point at which a provident poor man might be unable to ſpare threepence per week out of his income, without oppreſſing himſelf or ſome of his family; but undoubtedly, in the common courſe of nature's wants, there is ſuch a point; to prevent, however, the knowledge of it, is both more wiſe and more virtuous, than to wiſh to have it aſcertained! Give him the power of contribution, and then the uſe of it may be fairly expected. By a cordial agreement of maſters to point out the advantages of ſuch a plan, and to employ in preference thoſe labourers who ſhould conſent to it, conſent muſt become general. From the readineſs which the poor in ſ[illegible]e places have ſhewn to incorporate themſelves, and the idea they eaſily admit, that to provide againſt adverſity is advantageous and honourable, we would hope there would ſeldom be found a murmuring diſpoſition. And if their maſters and the principal inhabitants were generally, by way of encouragement, to contribute in common with them, the plan would become highly popular and pleaſing.

Should it be objected againſt ſuch a plan, that it would go to the making of the fund too large, which might occaſion relaxation among the poor contributors; it is anſwered, 1ſt. Let the wealthy contribute only ſo far as always to keep the fund up to a certain ſum, proportioned to the number of contributing labourers; or, 2dly. Let the wealthy contribute at pleaſure, and let the amount, over and above the aſſumed ſtandard of proportion be conſtantly divided once or twice a year among the poor contributors, according to their number of children.

Either rule might be adopted, as moſt ſuitable to the circumſtances of the pariſh or diſtrict; but the latter may be found the moſt uſeful, as being moſt liberal in its principle, and as tending to ſtrengthen the affection of the poor to their benefactors, which is the ſureſt bond of good faith in ſociety.

Laſtly, Such a conquering meaſure would bid fair to ſecure, almoſt beyond a poſſibility of miſcarriage, the original purpoſe of funding; the plan being thus rendered doubly encouraging to the poor, that eaſe and energy of mind, which make perſeverance a pleaſure, may be expected to remain undiminiſhed—for an individual to flag, would be to expoſe himſelf to the reproach of all around him.

The conſtant recollection that the fund is augmenting by the contribution of thoſe not likely to diminiſh it; or if not conſtantly augmenting, at leaſt attentively aided by ſuch perſons; would fill moſt of the poor with gratitude, which on the preſent plan of intercourſe is not deemed a very common virtue among them. But this animated affection, once excited, will be kept alive without difficulty, by the continued benefits found to reſult from the connection between themſelves and their benevolent ſuperiors. Under ſuch a patronage the moſt worthy among the poor would become improved into ſtill better examples to the leſs worthy. Emulation, then, inſenſibly ſlides into the boſom of the ſlothful and of conſequence

their

their moſt obnoxious habits become gradually corrected. All the laborious part of a diſtrict, on ſuch a plan, would be animated to ſtrive as in one common cauſe, feeling one common intereſt, looking to one common ſecurity! The ſmall deduction of three-pence per week would be compenſated by the triumph that the idea of a fund of their own would inſpire. Their children would naturally catch ſomething of the ſenſation, and be more prompt and alert in their little exertions. The principle of independence, ſo congenial to the human mind, thus foſtered, would grow with their growth, and ſtrengthen with their ſtrength. The moral effect of this principle, rightly cheriſhed, is a wonderful improvement of the mind itſelf, and would be found not only the moſt powerful ſtimulus to induſtry abroad, but to the beſt œconomy of the family at home. From a general courſe of provident attentions, a growing diſlike to the oppoſite habits, ſuch as, the frequenting of wakes, and other periodical aſſemblies for idle purpoſes, may be expected, till a uniform regularity of meritorious and virtuous conduct might be found, where idleneſs, vice, and miſery, had formerly dwelt.

Where a habit of tippling at the ale houſe prevails in the father of a poor family, it is of ſmall conſequence to the comfort of that family, how much or how little he earns, or whether the articles of ſubſiſtence be dear or cheap; wretchedneſs muſt attend his family. All that ſuch a man will earn, or filch, is eaſily conſumed by himſelf, and conſumed under a grovelling and ſtupid notion that to endeavour to ſave any thing is vain: or if attainable, that there is a greater good in the waſte or indulgence of the preſent moment.

It may indeed poſſibly be objected, that malt liquor is the natural beverage of this country, and that by a rigid diſcouragement of drinking ſtrong beer, the conſumption of barley would be leſſened, and the landed intereſt thereby ſuffer. It ſhall be readily granted that malt liquor is the national beverage, and that a check to the growth of barley is not to be haſtily hazarded; but ſuch an evil, if it be one, may poſſibly be guarded againſt in a conſiderable degree, by attempting an alteration in the mode of conſumption.

The ſtate of malting and brewery, under this ſpeculation, comes naturally into conſideration. It is now the policy of the legiſlature to lay ſo heavy a duty on malt, as wholly to exclude from poor, and almoſt from middling families, in towns eſpecially, the ancient practice of brewing for themſelves. Thus it comes to paſs that comparatively, few private families or even publicans brew. I will not ſay that in the article of ſtrong beer, eſpecially now porter is ſo generally brewed out of London, the public is under any material diſadvantage from the parliamentary ſyſtem. Certain it is that a ſubſtantial common brewer of ſtrong beer and porter, on a large ſcale of buſineſs, can now brew cheaper and better than a ſmall one. And conſidering the high duties on the ſtaple articles of brewery, it is rather a matter of ſurpriſe that beers of the various degrees of ſtrength, ſhould be rendered on the whole ſo good as they really are, at the prices they are ſold for.

But it is worthy of conſideration whether an equal conſumption of malt may not be obtained by a different uſe of breweries from that which prevails at preſent, and the nation, including the bulk of the poor, for whoſe advantage we are now concerned, be better, that is more generally and uſefully, ſupplied with malt liquor. On the preſent ſyſtem, in country towns and diſtricts eſpecially, the alternative is nearly this: ſtrong beer, or no beer at all; for any thing below the deſcription of ſtrong beer is with difficulty to be procured. Hence water, for a common beverage, is frequently drank in poor families, where ſtrong beer on account of the man's irregularities, cannot be afforded. And perhaps a hankering prevails in him after ſtrong beer, beyond what might be the caſe if a ſupply of freſh and palatable ſmaller beer could be readily obtained. This hankering after a favourite liquor is augmented by the difficulty of procuring it in common. And when a poor man

once

once breaks out of his buſineſs, and gets to the alehouſe, he is frequently ſtimulated with a deſire of an immoderate quantity, incurs an expence equal to what might ſupply his whole family with good table beer, loſes his time in drunkenneſs, (which loſs of time is alſo a public loſs to the community) injures his health and morals, and prevents the poſſibility of harmony in his family. The landed intereſt, then, in this part of the conſumption of barley, and that of the revenue in the conſumption of malt, are ſo far forth ſupported by irregularity, miſery, and a waſte againſt the wall.

To obviate theſe objections, and ſerious evils to the poor, (which are alſo connected with evils to manufactures, and conſequently to the national intereſt) would it not be found policy to encourage the ſetting up of ſmall beer breweries in country places and manufacturing towns? As an article of large profit, the brewing of ſmall beer for ſale in ſuch towns and places, may not be held out as greatly inviting; nor is it perhaps of conſequence, or at all deſirable, that it ſhould. In a national and moral point of view, it may be quite as deſirable that ten or twenty members of the community ſhould get a decent ſubſiſtence upon an equality of trade, as that one ſhould acquire a large fortune, while many others ſhall be his labourers in the manufacturing of an article. And yet in large towns, and for the ſupply of large towns, with a liquor of all others moſt pleaſant and uſeful to Engliſhmen who can afford to drink it, large and ſkilful brewers of ſtrong beer will always be encouraged, and it is deſirable they ſhould be. Neither do I conceive it would be an evil if ſuch men were a little to raiſe the price of ſtrong beer. I mean only the finer pale beer of this country, and give the conſumer an equivalent in age, ſtrength, and ſtudied excellence of flavour; which might tend to check the now immoderate uſe of a foreign, and frequently ſpurious noxious article, under the name of red-port. The conſumption of this article of late years, and perhaps we may alſo ſay the more unwholeſome article of French brandy, is a national diſadvantage, as well as a moral one. For they are articles which are againſt a favourable balance of trade, and induce luxury and diſeaſe.

But though, as was hinted before, the profit of merely ſmall beer breweries, eſpecially on that contracted ſcale which ſome ſituations will require, may not be inviting, yet it ſhould be remembered that as things are great or ſmall by compariſon, a profit which to large brewers would be unworthy of notice, might be uſeful and ſufficient to another man of ſmall property, ſmall views, and in the habits of manual labour. And it is preſumable that by a little encouragement many would be found ready to embark on ſuch a ſcale of brewery, merely for a ſcanty livelihood, or to employ a part of their time; the experiment is eaſy, and may be worth the trial. It may be objected that a man in narrow circumſtances cannot purchaſe caſks, and the neceſſary apparatus for ſelling beer in barrels, or half or quarter barrels, more eſpecially as the expence of delivery would be a ſerious one and the riſque of not being paid more ſerious ſtill. But if only one perſon in a ſmall compact village whoſe houſe ſhould be favourable to the undertaking, or two or more in a large and extenſive pariſh, were once eſtabliſhed, with a ſmall ſtock of caſks, and to ſell the beer to thoſe who would fetch it by the quart or gallon, it ſeems probable that ſuch a plan would be found very convenient to the poor, who might be furniſhed juſt as they happen to want, and in a manner the moſt compatible with their circumſtances. A poor family, which, without ſuch a plan, could not conſiſtently with their income have any beer at all, might on this lay out from one penny to ſix-pence without trouble or loſs of time; and having this beverage would be leſs likely to make a common beverage of tea, which, with the expence of refined ſugar, and butter, is enough to impoveriſh the parents, as well as to enervate their offſpring. But ſuch an eſtabliſhment of breweries, if uſeful at all, as it is preſumed they would be, muſt ſucceed beſt under the advice and encouragement of principal men in a pariſh, who will be the beſt judges of the

the qualification, proper disposition, and situations, of those who should be induced to engage. It may not always be necessary and certainly would not, for those who embark to spend their whole time in such an undertaking; much other useful business may be done, when brewing is suspended, while a single individual of the family might draw and serve out the beer to the persons who fetch it. Such a plan in large towns where common breweries are already established, seems to be superseded, by the selling of this article at chandlers' shops; but the abundant convenience and great advantage of that supply, without the necessity of going to the alehouse, is a strong recommendation for an attempt to be made in a more extensive manner.

It may be pleasing to some gentlemen, to read any additional, and recent sentiments of so ingenious a writer as Mr. Pew, on his favourite subject; his letter, therefore, respecting the insertion of his pamphlet, is subjoined.

TO THE SECRETARY.

Dear Sir,

I am much obliged to you for your polite letter, of the 24th instant, which I just now received, and feel myself highly honoured by the approbation the Bath and West of England Agriculture Society are pleased to express of my small pamphlet respecting a better mode of providing for the poor, published in 1783; and if my feeble efforts can be of any avail, in seconding the endeavours of so respectable a society, to bring about a more equal distribution of the bounties of Providence among all the sons of men; I can assure you, that as it has been always an object indeed very near my heart, it will give me the most unfeigned satisfaction

In that pamphlet I endeavoured to give, in the most condensed form, the principal advantages, both positive and negative, which might reasonably be expected from such a regulation; and now, after the lapse of eight years, I cannot call to mind any additional arguments which are likely to convince those whose understandings the former statement did not reach. If the society do me the honour, therefore, (which I much wish) to insert my paper in their next volume, I should wish only to correct the few errors of the press as marked in the copy herewith sent, and to add the two notes, which by some mistake of the printer, were formerly omitted; for as to entering on the practical part, or framing a bill by which the plan might be carried into execution, it seems to me upon reflection, not only to be highly presumptuous in any individual, but might perhaps be considered as a direct insult to the legislative wisdom of this country, without whose assistance, I am clearly of opinion, no permanent or very essential advantages can accrue from it; but when I say this, I mean only to express my own private opinion; for no one will be more happy to see such additional arguments as may have suggested themselves to any gentlemeh of the society.

Two difficulties seem to have occurred to several gentlemen, who I am sure are my friends, and well wishers to mankind: the first, as to the practicability of the scheme; the second, as to its legality. In answer to the first, I can only say, that if government would furnish me with the necessary powers, I would forfeit my life, or carry it generally into execution; and with regard to the second, I confess I can see nothing more illegal or oppressive in taxing a man for the future contingent support of himself and his family, than in taxing him directly for the support of others.

I am, dear Sir, your's, &c.

R. PEW.

Essay on the Difference between Men and Brutes.

IN order to ascertain exactly the difference between men and brutes, it will be necessary to explain their respective powers and properties, that we

may obſerve what powers they poſſeſs in common with each other, and wherein they differ.

The wiſe Author of Nature has fixed the laws of the univerſe on a firm baſis: he has claſſed the different ſyſtems of the creation with the utmoſt regularity and order, and has aſſigned to each its ſeparate department. The brutes are endued with the ſame and often greater ſenſations than man, and their appetites are congenial to ours. Let us only regard their delicate ſmell, their ſubtle and piercing ſight, the agility and ſwiftneſs of their motions, either in flying, running, or ſwimming, and we muſt be convinced, that in theſe reſpects they are fully equal to man, and often ſuperior. In retention they certainly do not differ from us; for it is evident from a bird's remembering a tune it has learnt, and a dog's diſtinguiſhing his maſter from any other perſon, together with innumerable other inſtances, that they have the ſame powers of retention as ourſelves. Abſtraction is the difference (according to Locke) that diſtinguiſhes men from brutes. Brutes he ſays, "have no general ſigns to expreſs general ideas, therefore they have no general ideas." The organs of ſenſe are the ſources from which they derive their internal perceptions; and they are incapable of abſtract reflection. Their minds are confined to carnal ſenſations, and they have no taſte for any refined and ſublime pleaſures.——Yet they are, many of them, very docile, and diſplay an aſtoniſhing degree of ſagacity in their various operations. The powers of inſtinct reſemble reaſon in ſo great a degree, that we can hardly but allow,

"That man differs more from man,
than man from beaſt."

But whatever imitations of reaſon the brute creation may exhibit, yet God has fixed a ſpecific difference between them and men. How different are we, in whom reaſon ſits enthroned! And, among other diſtinguiſhing privileges of men over brutes, may we not place a foreſight of futurity? The pleaſures and pains of brutes ariſe from preſent perceptions. Future pleaſures and future pains are equally unknown to them. From this ignorance of futurity, they can enjoy preſent happineſs with the higheſt reliſh: whereas man is capable of foreſeeing that a multiplicity of pains may be reſerved for him againſt to-morrow, though to-day he may be in the zenith of ſublunary felicity. Are we not diſtinguiſhed alſo from them in being able to adore the author of our exiſtence? It is our peculiar privilege to ſhew forth, by gratitude to our Creator, the bleſſings we enjoy.

From what, then, has been before obſerved, the pre-eminence of man ſhines forth with undiminiſhed luſtre and excellence; and from theſe obſervations, which clearly ſhew us that the brute creation was made ſervile to and for the uſe of man, by their not being endued with the ſame rational faculties, let us conclude that it is our duty not to exerciſe wanton tyranny or cruelty over a creation that demands our care, protection, and preſervation. Let us alſo conſider, "that the advantages which the brutes enjoy are limited to the preſent world, whereas we are created for a better, where our bodies, raiſed to the higheſt degree of glory and perfection, will be freed from all the defects and wants it is ſubject to upon earth."

Anecdotes.

FROM an American paper of the date of December 16, we extract the following paragraph:

"*Loſt* where it was *dropped*, laſt night, an *empty* bag with a *cheeſe* in it. The bag was *marked* T D. but the letters were *worn out*.—N. B. The perſon who *loſt* it, never *miſſed* it until it was *gone*; ſo if any perſon will bring it to him, he ſhall be rewarded for his trouble.

AN Engliſh boatſwain in the late engagement between lord Howe and the French fleet had both his legs taken off by a ſhot; and as he lay in that plight, called out to his captain, to requeſt that he would ram both his legs into a cannon, and fire them off at the French, that he might have the ſatisfaction of one kick at them before he died.

Political

The Political History of Europe, for the Year 1790.

CHAP. IV.

(Continued from our last.)

ON Tuesday the second of March, Mr. Fox, agreeably to the notice he had given, brought the subject before the house of commons, which was one of the fullest that had been for some time assembled. He began his speech with observing, that he had not obtruded himself upon the occasion, but that he came forward at the express wish and solicitation of the persons most interested in the success of the motion he was about to make: that it was a subject of some triumph and exultation to him, to see those men, who on former occasions had acted with the most violent hostility towards him, desirous, notwithstanding, of entrusting their dearest interests to him.

The argument which Mr. Fox chiefly laboured to establish was of this kind: that religious tests were justifiable only upon a supposition, that men who entertained certain speculative opinions, would be led by those opinions to commit actions that were in themselves immoral and hurtful to society. Now it was unwarrantable, he contended, to infer *a priori*, and contrary to the professions and declarations of the persons holding such opinions, that their opinions would produce acts injurious to the commonweal. To presume to judge of other men's opinions, and to know the consequences of them better than themselves, was the constant practice, and was of the very essence of persecution. How little speculative opinions were, in fact, to be considered as disqualifications for being admitted into civil employments, was evident from various instances. Those who were the most strongly attached to the present constitution of the house of commons, would not contend, that the duke of Richmond ought to be disqualified from being master-general of the ordnance, or Mr. Pitt from being first lord of the treasury, because they were of opinion that the present mode of representation was defective and called for amendment. For the same reason, he did not see why the church should be supposed to be in danger, though Dr. Priestley himself were at the head of it. The object of the test laws, at first, had been to exclude antimonarchical men from civil offices; but he would ever reprobate such a procedure; it was acting under false pretences; its tendency led to hypocrisy, and served as a restraint upon the good and conscientious only. Instead of a formal and direct oath of allegiance, there was an indirect, political test resorted to, by means of a religious test; although the obligation of all direct political tests had been justly exploded by the practice of the country. Why not have proposed a monarchical test at once? It would have answered the end by far more effectually than the present test; for the test now given went only to guess at a man's opinion; it might admit those whose political sentiments might be inimical to the constitution, while it operated directly against others who were amongst its stauncheſt friends. With respect to the church, he ridiculed the opinion, that it might be endangered by the repeal of the acts, as of all others the most unfounded and absurd. The only danger that the church had to apprehend, was from the supine indolence of the clergy, and the superior activity and zeal of the dissenters in the discharge of the duties of their sacred functions.

Mr. Fox then argued from the merits of the dissenters, first historically; and then contended generally, that the political principles they were supposed to entertain were less inimical to the British constitution, than those of the high churchmen.

With respect to French politics, he did not see what the present question had to do with them. He reprobated the injustice of imputing to any body of men the exceptionable conduct of a few individuals amongst them, and contended, that his motion ought to be decided upon general principles. Yet he saw no reason but the example of France ought to have its influence; the church there was now suffering for its former intolerance. However he might rejoice in the emancipation of near thirty millions of his fellow-creatures, and in the spirit which gave rise to the revolution; yet he was free to own there were some acts of the new government which he could not applaud. The summary and indiscriminate forfeiture of the property of the church came under this description. But the violence of this proceeding might, in some measure, be attributed to former ecclesiastical oppressions; and, in particular, to the impolitic revocation of the edict of Nantes. Before that period, there existed no test in France; protestants and catholics were indiscriminately admitted into civil and military offices: but by that rash measure, liberality and toleration were thrown away; the arts and manufactures were driven into other countries, to flourish in a more genial soil, and under a milder form of government. This should serve as a caution to the church of England; persecution may prevail for a time, but it generally terminates in the punishment of its abettors.

After animadverting upon the conduct of the bishop of St. David's, who had, about that time, sent a circular letter to the clergy of his diocese, dissuading them, in the strongest terms, from giving their votes for a certain member of the house of commons, on account of his having supported the petition of the dissenters, and thereby attempted to overthrow our ecclesiastical constitution; Mr. Fox concluded an able, temperate, and judicious speech, by declaring, that he was sufficiently aware of the unpopularity of the cause he had undertaken; that he knew that some of the persons, whom he most valued and respected, differed with him in opinion upon the subject; that he had no particular connexion with the parties, who considered themselves as aggrieved, but, on the contrary, that they had been amongst his most violent political enemies; but regarding their cause as the cause of truth and liberty, he should give it his warmest support both upon the present and on every future occasion.

The act of the 13th of Charles II. "for the well governing and regulating corporations, &c." and the act of the 25th of Charles II. "for preventing dangers which may arise from popish recusants, &c." having been previously read at the table, Mr. Fox moved—"That this house will immediately resolve itself into a committee of the whole house, to consider of so much of the said acts as require persons, before they are admitted to any office, civil or military, or any place of trust under the crown, to receive the sacrament of the Lord's supper according to the rites of the church of England."

The motion was seconded by sir Henry Hoghton, and opposed in a long and able speech by Mr. Pitt. He began by expressing his obligations to Mr. Fox for his clear and candid statement of the precise object of the dissenters in the present application, and of the full extent to which his motion was intended to be carried. Whatever doubts he might before have entertained relative to the expediency of admitting any alteration in the acts, which had been read, he certainly could not hesitate a moment in opposing their direct and total abolition.

If the principle that had been laid down by Mr. Fox was admitted, that *actions* were the only test that ought to be resorted to in cases like the present, there would be an end of what had always been esteemed one of the tests of political wisdom, the policy of *prevention*. He consideredthe church of England, as by law established, to be so essential a part of the constitution, that whatever endangered it, would necessarily affect the security of the whole; and therefore that it ought to be guarded with the most watchful jealousy. It was for this reason, he conceived, that the legislature had thought fit even to abridge one of the undoubted prerogatives of the crown, by preventing the sovereign from employing persons in offices of trust, who could not give a certain pledge of their attachment to the established government in church and state. And he reminded the house, that our constitution owed its present existence to the sanction of those laws; that had they not existed, the family of Stuart might have been at that time in possession of the throne, and that house deprived of the privilege even of deliberating upon the question then before them.

The constitution, he said, by investing the executive power with the sole appointment to offices of trust, and making it ultimately responsible for their execution, must be supposed to have joined to it the power of judging of the fitness or unfitness of individuals to occupy those stations. In the exercise of this discretionary authority, the executive power might possibly be induced, by peculiar circumstances, to exclude some certain descriptions of people; and surely what the executive government might adopt as a measure of necessary policy, the supreme legislative power might enact upon the same grounds of expediency. The claim as of right to civil offices, appeared to him perfectly absurd and ridiculous, unless it were agreed, that the offices in question were created for the advantage of those who occupied them, and not as trusts for the benefit of the public, and that they ought to be distributed upon the principle of public lottery, in which every man ought to have an equal chance for a prize.

Having argued the question of right, Mr. Pitt proceeded to consider that of expediency. And here he gave it as his decided opinion, that the acts in question were necessary to the security of the established church. He could not, he said, avoid remarking a little on the conduct of the dissenters, who, at the moment they were reprobating a test, had pretty publicly indicated an intention of forming associations throughout the whole country, for the purpose of putting the members of that house to a test, and of resolving to judge of their fitness to fill their seats by their votes on this single question. They had explained themselves since indeed, and declared, that they never meant to put a test to any one; in the explanation, however, it appeared that they had retained the substance, though they had done away the word: for in the resolutions of their meeting, signed by Mr. Jefferies, it was declared, that they meant to give their support to such members as proved themselves to be friends to religious and civil liberty, the true meaning of which general terms must strike every man. It was evident, that the dissenters would not consider any one a friend to religious and civil liberty, who did not vote for the repeal of the test and corporation acts. In his opinion, therefore, they came with an ill grace to solicit the repeal of a test, when at the same moment they threatened the house with one.

He need not, he said, trouble the house to prove, that the dissenters would exercise power, if put in possession of it, since the possession of power always produced the inclination to exercise it; and, without meaning to throw any stigma on the dissenters, he could not hesitate a moment in supposing it probable, that they might feel inclined to exercise their power to the subversion of the established church; it would be so far from reprehensible in them, that, possessing the principles they profess, and acting conscientiously upon those principles, it would become their duty, as honest men, to make the endeavour; for those who considered the established church to be sinful and bordering on idolatry, would not act conscientiously nor consistently, unless they exercised all the legal means in their power to do away that idolatry.

The test laws had been declared inefficacious and nugatory, as the legislature had been obliged every session to pass an act of indemnity. If the fact was so, the complaint of oppression must cease; for, from the right honourable gentleman's own argument it was obvious, that the laws were not enforced. Although the temperate forbearance of government from the execution of the laws was truly laudable, when the danger was neither imminent nor alarming to the church, whose permanent safety was their object; yet, to repeal the laws in question, because their execution was not always necessary, would be impolitic in the extreme; as the legislature, if it once suffered the remedy against such danger to be taken out of the hands of the executive government,

vernment, might not be able to place it there again when the exigence of the times might render it abſolutely neceſſary for the ſafety of the church.

Mr. Burke concurred with Mr. Fox upon the general ground of many of his arguments reſpecting toleration, and declared, that had the repeal been moved for ten years ago, he ſhould probably have joined him in ſupporting it; but he had the ſtrongeſt reaſons to believe, that many of the perſons now calling themſelves *diſſenters*, and who ſtood the moſt forward in the preſent application for relief, were men of factious and dangerous principles, actuated by no motives of religion or conſcience, to which toleration could in any rational ſenſe be applied. This led him to remark upon the danger and abſurdity, of recurring to abſtract original rights in determining civil regulations, upon their incompatibility with each other, and upon the advantages which men derived in exchange for the rights of nature from the eſtabliſhments of civil ſociety, and of its neceſſary concomitant, religion.

Mr. Burke alſo agreed with Mr. Fox, that men were not to be judged merely by their ſpeculative opinions, but by their opinions and conduct taken together. It was by theſe that he ſhould judge how far the petitioners were entitled to the indulgence they requeſted; by their acts, their declarations, and their avowed intentions.

Mr. Burke then produced and read to the houſe, ſeveral authentic documents to ſubſtantiate the allegations he had before made:—Amongſt theſe was a catechiſm circulated amongſt the diſſenters, expreſſly adopted by ſome and publicly condemned by none, which, inſtead of teaching the principles of revealed religion, was full of the moſt audacious libels upon the national eſtabliſhments and continued invectives upon kings and biſhops. Another was a letter written by Mr. Fletcher, a diſſenter, from a meeting of diſſenting miniſters, holden at Bolton, in Lancaſhire. Mr. Fletcher ſtated in his letter, that the meeting avowed ſuch violent principles, that he would not ſtay, but came away with ſome other moderate men. It aſſerted, that one member, on being aſked what was their object, and whether they meant to ſeek for any thing more than the repeal of the teſt and corporation acts, anſwered, in the language of our Saviour, "We know thoſe things, which ye are not yet able to bear." And on another member's ſaying, "Give them a little light into what we intend," they informed him, that they did not care the nip of a ſtraw for the repeal of the teſt and corporation acts, but that they deſigned to try for the abolition of the tythes and liturgy. In addition to theſe documents, he read ſeveral well-known extracts from the writings of Dr. Prieſtley and Dr. Price, expreſſive of their hoſtility to all eſtabliſhments, their perſuaſion that thoſe of religion were ſinful and idolatrous, and their determination to proceed ſtep by ſtep till they were demoliſhed.

Mr. Burke concluded his ſpeech by declaring it to be his opinion, on account of the many alarming and ſuſpicious circumſtances, under which the preſent application came to parliament, that if the teſt and corporation acts were repealed, ſome other teſt ought to be ſubſtituted. He ſaid he had a draft of another teſt in his pocket, and he had formed an idea of moving the previous queſtion, with a view afterwards to move for a committee to examine into the recent conduct of the diſſenters. He did not wiſh the houſe to rely on his facts before he had eſtabliſhed them by proof, of which he knew them to be capable. If, however, they ſhould, upon inveſtigation, not appear to be founded, he would hold himſelf bound to vote for the repeal of the teſt and corporation acts. If they ſhould think the beſt way of laying the queſtion at reſt, would be by coming to a vote upon the motion, he would ſubmit.

Mr. Fox made a long reply, in which he particularly urged the injuſtice of deciding a general queſtion of right upon the conduct of a few individuals: after which the houſe divided,

For the motion 105,
Againſt it 294.

The next queſtion of importance which engaged the conſideration of the houſe of commons, was a motion made by Mr. Flood, on the 4th of March, for leave to bring in a bill to amend the repreſentation of the people in parliament.

The grounds upon which Mr. Flood proceeded were theſe: That as, by the general law of the conſtitution, the majority is to decide for the whole, the repreſentaive muſt be choſen by a body of conſtituents, whereof the elective franchiſe may extend to the majority of the people. For, if the conſtituent body conſiſted of but one thouſand for the whole nation, the repreſentatives choſen by that thouſand could not, in any rational ſenſe, be the actual repreſentative of the people.—That nothing leſs than a conſtituent body, formed on a principle that extends to the majority, can be conſtitutionally adequate to the return of an actual repreſentative of the people; and that unleſs the people be actually repreſented, they are not conſtitutionally repreſented at all. He admitted that property, to a certain degree, is a neceſſary ingredient to the elective power; that is to ſay, that franchiſe ought not to go beyond property; but at the ſame time it ought to be as nearly commenſurate to it as poſſible. Property, by the original principle of the conſtitution, was the ſource of all power, both elective and legiſlative; the *liberi tenentes*, including at that time, in effect, the whole property of the country, and extending to the maſs of the people, were the elective body. The perſons whom they choſe to repreſent them in parliament, ſat in right of the property of their electors; and the barons ſat in right of their own baronies; that is to ſay, of their own property. At that time the latter were not creatures of royal patent as now. But now that the lords are creatures of royal patent merely, and that freehold property is but a part of the property of the nation, the national property is not as fully repreſented as it was originally, and as it ought to be ſtill by the conſtitution.—That the conſtituent body is alſo defective in point of number, as well as in point of property; the whole number of electors, being infinitely ſhort of what it ought to be, and

what is worſe, the majority of the repreſentatives who decide for the whole, choſen by a number of electors not exceeding ſix or eight thouſand; though theſe repreſentatives are to act for eight millions of people.—That a new body of conſtituents is therefore wanting; and in their appointment two things are to be conſidered; one, that they ſhould be numerous enough, becauſe numbers are neceſſary to the ſpirit of liberty; the other, that they ſhould have a competent degree of property, becauſe that is conducive to the ſpirit of order.

To ſupply this deficiency, both in the repreſentative and conſtituent body, Mr. Flood propoſed, that one hundred members ſhould be added, and that they ſhould be elected by the reſident houſeholders in every county—reſident: firſt, becauſe they muſt be beſt acquainted with every local circumſtance; and next, becauſe they can attend at every place of election, with the leaſt inconvenience and expence to themſelves, or to the candidate: Houſeholders, becauſe being maſters of families, they muſt be ſufficiently reſponſible to be entitled to franchiſe. There is no country in the world, he ſaid, in which the houſeholders of it are conſidered as the rabble—no country can be ſaid to be free, where they are not allowed to be efficient citizens; they are, excluſive of the rabble, the great maſs of the people; they are the natural guards of popular liberty in the firſt ſtages of it—without them it cannot be retained; as long as they have this conſtitutional influence, and till they become generally corrupt, popular liberty cannot be taken away.

In order to evince the neceſſity of the reform propoſed, Mr. Flood uſed the following argument: The conſtitution, he ſaid, conſiſts of three orders, one monarchical, one ariſtocratic, and one popular; the balance conſiſts in maintaining the equipoiſe between them. This balance was loſt in the firſt part of the Norman æra; it was recovered in ſome degree afterwards; it was impaired again in the period of the Tudors and Stuarts; at the revolution it is ſuppoſed to have been again recovered. Let us ſee whether it has not been impaired ſince. The lords have been the moſt ſtationary part; yet, by a great increaſe of their numbers of late, the upper houſe has obtained a great many patrimonial and private boroughs; thereby obtaining an influence over the houſe of commons, which does not conſtitutionally belong to them. But the great alteration has happened on the part of the crown. On this point he quoted the authority of Mr. Juſtice Blackſtone and Mr. Hume; and, laſtly, the memorable revolution of the houſe of commons:—"that the influence of the crown had increaſed, was increaſing, and ought to be diminiſhed." Does any man, he ſaid, doubt this authority? Were not they who voted it witneſſes of the fact, as well as judges of the propoſition? But it does not reſt on their authority; an act of the whole legiſlature has ſince confirmed their words—they have been made ſtatute by the act of reform that paſſed afterwards. But what has happened ſince? An Eaſt India bill has paſſed, and a declaratory law. And what is the conſequence? No man who has any modeſty, or who ever expects to be credited, will deny, that by thoſe laws more influence has been conveyed to the crown, or the miniſter, than was ſubtracted by that act of reform. After anſwering the objections that might be made to his motion as ill-timed, innovating on the conſtitution, and tending to excite diſcontents among the people, Mr. Flood concluded to the following effect:

Monteſquieu has ſaid, that a free people will pay more taxes with greater alacrity, than a people that are not free; and he adds the reaſon, becauſe they have a compenſation in the rights they enjoy. The people of England pay fifteen millions and a half annually to the revenue. This purchaſe they pay for the conſtitution. Shall they not have the benefit of it? Every individual pays fifty ſhillings a year.—How many enjoyments muſt every inferior individual relinquiſh, and how much labour muſt he undergo, to enable him to make this contribution? No people ever deſerved better of government than the people of this country, at this moment; they have not only ſubmitted with alacrity to this enormous maſs of taxation, but when the health or the rights of their ſovereign were at ſtake, they gathered around the throne with unexampled zeal: can ſuch a people be denied their privileges? Can their privileges be a ſubject of indifference or remiſſneſs to this houſe? I cannot believe it; and therefore I move for leave to bring in a bill to amend the repreſentation of the people in parliament.

The motion was ſeconded by Mr. Grigby and oppoſed by Mr. Wyndham, who obſerved, that, in his opinion, before the houſe could receive the motion, the right honourable gentleman ought firſt to make out ſome ſpecific grievance, ariſing out of the preſent mode of repreſentation, and then propoſe his remedy; and when the houſe were put in poſſeſſion of both, it would be for them to judge how far the firſt was aſcertained and the ſecond proportionate, and to decide whether the remedy ought to be adopted or not. Mr. Flood had ſaid, that the repreſentation was inadequate, without producing any fact in proof of the allegation, except an arithmetical calculation, which only proved it to be, what needed no proof, unequal. The right honourable gentleman ſeemed to have confounded the end with the means. Experience had convinced them, that the repreſentation was not inadequate, but that the houſe of commons, conſtituted as it was, anſwered all the beneficial purpoſes that could poſſibly be deſired. This was a caſe in which we might loſe every thing and could gain nothing. The liberty of the country ſtood in need of no ſpeculative ſecurity, it could not be better ſecured than it was.

Mr. Flood having adduced the ſupport given in parliament to the American war, contrary to the ſenſe of the people, as a proof of the neceſſity of a reform, Mr. Wyndham denied, that the continuance of the American war had been owing to the inadequacy of repreſentation; on the contrary, he ſaid, it was the war of the people: a better proof of which need not be deſired, than

than what had happened to the member for Briſtol, a right honourable friend of his (Mr. Burke) who had been turned out for oppoſing its continuance. Towards the cloſe of that war, which was undertaken with no better reaſons, he was afraid, than the hope of ſaving themſelves by taxing America, a clamour indeed was raiſed on account of the expence and ill ſucceſs attending it, and the cry was for a reform of the repreſentation in parliament, as a remedy for the evils, which the people had at leaſt their ſhare in bringing upon themſelves. He had hoped, that the wild notions which were generated during that war, had happily ſubſided, never to riſe again: and he was ſorry to find, that, like locuſts, they had only lain torpid, and had been brought to life again by the heat and fermentation which prevailed in the affairs of the continent. He was ſorry to hear them again buzzing abroad, and thought it portended no good to the vendure and beauty of the Britiſh conſtitution.

But if he had approved ever ſo much of the right honourable gentleman's propoſition for a parliamentary reform, he ſhould object to it on account of the time at which he had thought proper to introduce it. What, he ſaid, would he adviſe them to repair their houſe in the hurricane ſeaſon? Speculatiſts and viſionaries enough were at work in a neighbouring country; there was project againſt project, and theory againſt theory, *frontibus adverſis pugnantia*; he intreated the houſe to wait a little for the event, and in the mean time to guard with all poſſible care againſt catching from them the infection.

Mr. Pitt followed Mr. Wyndham, and ſaid, that after the extraordinary diſplay of ingenuity and wiſdom which the houſe had juſt heard, little remained to be ſaid upon the merits of the motion. What he ſhould ſay, therefore would relate to the queſtion, ſo far as he might be thought perſonally concerned in it. He had brought forward, ſome years back, a propoſition of the ſame nature; to which the oppoſition had been ſucceſsful, though the times, and a variety of other circumſtances, were then more favourable than at preſent. The chief objection, then, was, the danger of innovation; and it was a knowledge of the impreſſion that argument had made, which rendered him deſirous of waiting till ſome more favourable moment than the preſent ſhould offer itſelf, when he moſt certainly ſhould again ſubmit his ideas upon the ſubject to the houſe; at preſent, unleſs the right honourable gentleman would conſent to withdraw his motion, he ſhould move to adjourn. Mr. Pitt declared, that if he were forced to come to a ſpecific vote upon the right honourable gentleman's plan for amending the conſtitution, he ſhould be againſt it; and even if it were his own propoſition, he ſhould act in the ſame manner, feeling that the cauſe of reform might ſuffer diſgrace and loſe ground from being brought forward at an improper moment.

Sir James Johnſtone contended, that if the propoſitions of the right honourable gentleman were complied with, the act of union would be violated, and in that caſe the two countries muſt be placed in the ſame ſituation in which they ſtood before the union, and then the difficulty would be to bring them together again. By the union England was to have 313 members in that houſe, and Scotland 45. If the act of union were diſſolved, probably that houſe would think eight members from Scotland enough, but the Scotch parliament might inſiſt upon having 200 at leaſt. The parliament had done extremely well for ſome years paſt; he hoped, therefore, that the right honourable gentleman would ſuffer them to try the experiment for another century, and then, if it did not anſwer, he would be glad to ſecond his motion.

Mr. Fox argued in favour of the motion; but, at the ſame time, candidly ſaid, that he believed the opinion he ſupported was not that of the majority either within or without the doors of parliament. He differed from Mr. Wyndham on the point of the American war, and was of opinion, that had the houſe of commons been differently conſtituted at that time, it would have put an end to that war much earlier. Sure alſo he was, that what had happened in 1784, would never, in that caſe, have taken place. He differed totally from Mr. Wyndham in the ſentiments he had expreſſed relative to France. That gentleman had aſked, would any man repair his houſe in the hurricane? Mr. Fox ſaid, he would be glad to know what ſeaſon was more proper to ſet about a repair in, than when an hurricane was near, and might poſſibly burſt forth? He concluded with declaring, that he thought the reform propoſed by Mr. Flood the beſt of all he had yet heard ſuggeſted.

Mr. Burke combated the various arguments that had been urged in favour of the motion. He particularly contended, that the people did not wiſh for any reform, and that ſuch attempts did not originate with, or were countenanced by them. He contended, that the American war was a war of the people, and that it was put an end to by the virtue of the houſe of commons, with ſcarce any interference of the people, and almoſt without their conſent.

Mr. Powis, Mr. Wilberforce, and Mr. Secretary Grenville, ſpoke on the ſame ſide; and Mr. Courtney, Sir Joſeph Mawbey, Mr. Martin, Mr. Duncombe, and others, for the motion. At length Mr. Flood agreed that it ſhould be withdrawn.

CHAP. V.

Motion by Mr. Montagu for increaſing the ſalary of the ſpeaker of the houſe of commons. He ſtates his preſent emoluments, argues upon their inſufficiency, and propoſes that they ſhould be advanced to 5,000*l. per annum. Motion oppoſed by Mr. Huſſey, as tending to increaſe the influence of the crown. Supported by Mr. Marſham and other gentlemen. Amendment propoſed in the committee that the ſalary ſhould be* 6,000*l. per annum, and carried by a large Majority. India budget opened by Mr. Dundas. Comparative ſtatement of the revenues and charges in India. Flouriſhing ſtate of the company's affairs in general. Doubts expreſſed by Mr. Huſſey. Speech of Mr.*

Mr. Francis upon the affairs of India. Proofs of the company's diſtreſs. Obſervations on the duty on ſalt. Remarks on the letter of lord Cornwallis. Mr. Devaynes in reply to Mr. Francis. Mr. Dundas aſſerts the falſhood of Mr. Francis's ſtatement. Reſolutions paſſed by the committee. Sir. J. R. Miller's account of the proceedings of the committee on weights and meaſures. Petitions preſented for the repeal of the tobacco exciſe act. Motion upon that ſubject by Mr. Sheridan, aſſerts that the act had endangered the foreign trade, encouraged ſmuggling, and laid the manufacturer under inſuperable hardſhips. Mr. Pitt in reply. Sir Grey Cooper, Mr. Wyndham, and Mr. Fox, for the motion. Rejected by a majority of 191 *to* 147. *Bill paſſed to explain and amend the tobacco act. Clauſe to grant trial by juries rejected. Budget for the year* 1790. *Flouriſhing ſtate of the finances and growing proſperity of the country. Remarks on the budget by Mr. Sheridan. Meſſage from the king to both houſes of parliament relative to the diſputes with Spain. Addreſſes voted unanimouſly. Motions for papers and debates thereon. Vote of credit for a million. Committee on American claims. Caſe of Mr. Penn. Compenſation voted for the loſſes of his family. Penſion granted to Dr. Willis. Amendment of the tontine act. Account of proceedings relative to the ſlave trade. Proceedings relative to the trial of Mr. Haſtings. Speech from the throne. Parliament prorogued. Summary of the proceedings of the Iriſh parliament.*

ON the 10th of March, the right honourable Frederick Montagu roſe and requeſted the attention of the houſe to a ſubject in which he conceived their honour and dignity, and the dignity and intereſt of all the people of Great Britain to be eſſentially concerned;—he meant, the due ſupport of the office of the ſpeaker of that houſe. He then ſtated, that the emoluments hitherto enjoyed by a ſpeaker of the houſe of commons were exceedingly inadequate to the maintenance of the dignity of ſuch a ſtation, and contended that this great officer ought to be enabled to appear and live, wherever he was, and at all times, not only while he was in town, and pending the continuance of the ſeſſion of parliament, but in the country, or wherever he might chuſe to go, during the receſs, with the ſplendor and importance becoming, what he undoubtedly was, the firſt commoner in the kingdom. Upon an inquiry into the amount and nature of the profits of his place, he had been given to underſtand, that the ſpeaker's fees, *communibus annis*, might be computed, on an average of ten years, at the ſum of 1,232l. and on an average of twelve years, at the ſum of 1,266l. and that the allowance to the ſpeaker from the exchequer was about 1,680l. ſo that putting the two ſums together, the emoluments of the ſpeaker did not amount to 3,000l. *, a ſum by no means adequate to the dignity of the office, which he and every member of that houſe muſt wiſh to ſee properly ſuſtained. It was on this account that the predeceſſors of the preſent ſpeaker had generally holden places under the crown. Sir Spencer Compton had filled the office of pay-maſter of the army; and Mr. Onſlow, a name never to be mentioned in that houſe but with reverence, had been treaſurer of the navy. He did not like that the ſpeaker of that houſe ſhould be under the neceſſity of looking for the favours of the crown, and, therefore, he wiſhed the houſe itſelf to make an adequate proviſion for him. He related the following anecdote in confirmation of his argument. When Mr. Onſlow was ſpeaker, and held the office of treaſurer of the navy upon a warm diſcuſſion of a certain political point, the queſtion came to be decided by the caſting vote of the ſpeaker, which Mr. Onſlow gave in oppoſition to the court. This conduct was reſented by the court party, and the place which he held was thrown in his teeth. Mr. Onſlow, being a high-ſpirited man, the very next day reſigned his place; and though he held the office of ſpeaker for eighteen years afterwards, to the diſgrace of the houſe, he received no more than the uſual income, of the amount of which the houſe was now apprized. The conſequence was, that when he reſigned, Mr. Onſlow muſt have retired in a very uncomfortable ſtate, indeed, had not the houſe, aware of the circumſtance, and feeling its own credit or diſgrace involved in its conduct on the occaſion, voted Mr. Onſlow a penſion of 3,000l. a year.

With regard to fees ariſing out of the buſineſs of the houſe, he thought they ſhould be left exactly as they were, as a check upon frivolous applications. If the fees were aboliſhed, the houſe would be overwhelmed with ſuch a deluge of private buſineſs, that it would be impoſſible to get through the whole of it. With reſpect to the other part of the ſpeaker's emoluments, he ſhould propoſe that ſo much might be added out of the ſinking fund as to make up the whole 5,000l. a year at leaſt. Such an addition might be conſidered as the price paid for the purchaſe of the ſpeaker's independence; and the public (he conceived) would chearfully pay for a purchaſe, in which they had ſo great an intereſt.

Having explained what he meant to ſuggeſt, when the houſe ſhould be in a committee, Mr. Montagu begged leave to addreſs himſelf perſonally to the chair, and to aſſure the ſpeaker, that he had heard his manly addreſs at the commencement of the ſeſſion with great pleaſure, and that he had witneſſed, with infinite ſatisfaction, ſince he had held his high office, his great politeneſs and affability, his ſtrict impartiality, his

NOTE.

* Mr. Montagu afterwards ſtated to the committee, that, beſides theſe emoluments, the ſpeaker was preſented at the commencement of a new parliament with 1000l. for equipment money, 2000 ounces of plate, 100l. for ſtationary, and two hogſheads of claret annually.

great

great attention to business both public and private, and, above all, his care and attention to the forms of the house, and forms, he must be allowed to say, were the very essence of a popular assembly like the house of commons. Mr. Montagu, in conclusion, moved,

"That this house will, on Monday next, resolve itself into a committee of the whole house, to consider of an allowance to be made to the speaker of the house of commons for the time being, more adequate to the dignity of the said office, and to the expence necessarily attending the same."

The motion being seconded by the honourable Mr. Marsham, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer having signified his majesty's consent, Mr. Hussey rose to express his disapprobation of the measure, as tending to increase the influence of the crown, by annexing so large a salary to an officer undeniably in the disposal of its ministers. He was of opinion that it would add nothing to the independence of their speaker. Those who had formerly held offices under the crown had not been complained of; and he had no doubt but that the worthy gentleman who now filled, and those who should be called to the chair, would be equally independent with or without a place.

The arguments of Mr. Hussey appear to have made no impression upon the house, and the motion was carried without any other dissentient voice. In the committee which sat on the 15th, Mr. Montagu moved, "That it is the opinion of this committee, that for more effectually supporting the dignity of the speaker of the house of commons of Great Britain, the lords commissioners of his majesty's treasury be directed to issue from the exchequer such sum as, together with the salary of the said office of 5l. per day, and the fees thereof upon private bills, will make the whole 5,000l."

A motion being made by sir James Johnstone, that instead of 5,000l. should be inserted 6,000l. the same was carried by a majority of 154 to 28.

On the 31st of March Mr. Dundas opened the India Budget. He began with the state of Bengal, the revenues of which, he said, exceeded the charges by a sum of 2,136,711l. This excess of revenue was 178,000l. above the estimate of the last year, and he accounted for the increase from a better collection of the land revenues, and an increase on that of salt. This great increase of revenue he considered to be a strong proof of the prosperity of the country, which was so rapidly increasing, that he doubted not but in a very few years, the company would be enabled to pay off the whole of their arrears; and that the British possessions of India would be more flourishing in wealth, in commerce, manufactures, and in every enjoyment, than any other part of the whole continent of Hindostan.

He then took a review of the finances of Madras, the establishment of which, he said, exceeded the income; but he was of opinion, that measures might be taken to bring the expenditure within the revenue. Of Bombay, he said, he had not received later accounts than those, on which he had grounded the resolution of last year. Of Bencoolen and the Prince of Wales's Island, he said, he had last year estimated the expence too low by 5,000l.; as he now found by accounts received since that time, that instead of 60,000l. he ought to have estimated them at 65,000l. Upon the whole statement, however, there was a very considerable excess. He last year estimated the surplus at 1,516,119l. but the accounts for 1788-9, prove a considerable increase of clear revenue.

The whole of the revenues and charges, with their totals, from the accounts of 1788-9; stood as follows:

	£.	
The Revenues of		
Bengal	5,619,994	
Madras	1,213,229	
Bombay	138,228	
		6,971,451 Total Revenue.
The Charges of	£.	
Bengal	3,183,250	
Madras	1,302,037	
Bombay	568,710	
		5,053,997 Total of Charges.
Leaving a clear surplus of		1,917,454

From which was to be deducted for Bencoolen and the Prince of Wales's Island, 65,000l. which would leave a nett revenue of 1,852,454l. and gave an exceeding over the last estimate of 336,335l.

To the before mentioned nett revenue of 1,852,454l. was to be added for exports, 230,361l. which would make a sum of 2,147,815l. applicable to the discharge of debts, and purchase of investments.

The debts of the company for the last year, were 7,604,754l. those of the present year, 6,501,385l. giving a decrease of 1,103,369l.

He flattered himself that by the statement he had just made, the committee would be enabled to judge accurately and satisfactorily of the revenues of India, which were in a most flourishing state, and had been gradually improving for some years. He considered the increase on the land revenue to be permanent; he would not, however, say the same of that on salt, nor did he wish an increase of revenue from that article, if it was occasioned, as he believed it was, from a rise of price on the consumer, which, he said, must be an oppression on the natives, to whom salt was an absolute necessary of life, and to whose

whose ease he should consider a decrease in the revenue on that article a very good sacrifice. He gave it as his opinion, that our establishments might be considerably lowered, and the surpluses thereby increased. This country, he said, was likely, from a variety of circumstances, long to enjoy an undisturbed peace at home and abroad. When her situation was compared with that of other European nations; and when our connection with Holland, a power of great consequence in India, was also remembered, he hoped he should not be considered as too sanguine in the opinion he entertained, that England had no danger to apprehend from any European rival in India; and he was confident that we should have nothing there to fear from the combination of any Indian powers, so long as we continued to preserve our present good faith toward them, and trod in the path we were now in, that of moderation. It was well known, he observed, that there was a prince, who, inheriting all the ambitious and turbulent views of his father, possessed the same rancorous spirit against the English, whom he ever had, and most likely ever would endeavour to extirpate from India. That prince had, however, lost no inconsiderable portion of the consequence he formerly was possessed of; and his opinion was, that our establishments had for some time been more than sufficient to repel any attack he could make. Other circumstances had recently occurred, which rendered us still more formidable, and our establishments still more competent to bear a reduction, without endangering the public safety. The circumstances he alluded to were, the state of the French settlement at Pondicherry, and a requisition which had been made from the king of the Travancore country (one of the oldest and best allies of the English in India) for a considerable body of our troops to be taken into his pay, for the purpose of covering the frontier of his territory to the westward, which requisition would be complied with, and orders sent out for the purpose in the course of the present year. By this arrangement our military establishment at Tellichery, would in a great measure be superseded; and those of Madras and Bombay might safely be diminished. He concluded by stating, as an additional proof of the prosperity of the affairs of the company in India, that the discount on their bonds at Bengal, which were at eight *per cent.* on the commencement of the government of lord Cornwallis, had fallen to the inconsiderable discount of less than one and a half.

Mr. Hussey was of opinion, that to judge fairly of the company's situation, their affairs at home and abroad ought to be considered together; he could not consider their affairs at home to be in a prosperous way, while they were continually borrowing; and had borrowed from the year 1781, no less a sum than 5,800,000l.

Mr. Francis made a long reply to Mr. Dundas. He insisted that the true, the proper, and the only intelligible proof of the propositions in question, would have been to have produced a short and simple account of debts paid off, of an investment purchased with a surplus of revenue, of nett profit upon that investment, and of a thriving, happy, industrious people in the Indian provinces under our dominion. What signified all the right honourable gentleman's arithmetics when the notorius facts were, that we had no return from India, but a return or transfer of debts, which the company could not pay, and which sooner or later must fall upon the shoulders of England when the company, instead of discharging their bonds, and clearing themselves from the burthen of their debts at home, were every year coming to parliament for assistance, for leave to borrow more and more money, for an authority to increase their capital, or for the direct power of the legislature to protect them against their creditors, either by authorising them not to accept, or not to pay the bills they had accepted; and, finally, when the letters from lord Cornwallis, now lying on the table, described Bengal as a declining and almost ruined country.

As a proof of the distress of the company's affairs at home, and the poverty of their treasury, he stated, that they were then taking up silver, tin, and copper upon credit, which formerly they used to pay for with ready money. The discount upon their Bengal bonds he also considered as another symptom of distress.

With regard to Bengal, Mr. Dundas had said, that the *jumma*'s being collected entire was a proof of the prosperity of a country, and that therefore Bengal was most prosperous. Neither the premises nor the inference were founded on fact, since an oppressive government might get their revenue entire, and the country be nevertheless rapidly going to ruin.

Mr. Francis proceeded to take notice of what Mr. Dundas had said respecting the revenue arising from salt. He had truly stated salt to be a necessary of life in Bengal more than in any other country. It actually was so; and nature seemed to have considered the circumstance, as it hath made salt one of the cheapest manufactures of the country. They could get it there for next to nothing, if an oppressive revenue were not derived from it. The late lord Clive, who was accused of having established a monopoly of salt, had expressly provided, "That the price of salt, sold by the Society of Trade, should never exceed 200 rupees per 100 maunds;" and Mr. Bolts, who stretched every thing to the utmost that could be brought to bear against the government of lord Clive, stated 560 rupees per 100 maunds, as the highest price to the consumer.

The selling price of the company of Calcutta, appeared to have been in August, 1789, about 300 Sicca rupees per 100 maunds. At one period within these two years, the prices, at the company's sale, had got up to the enormous amount of 700 Sicca rupees; upon which there was also to be a proportionate increase for profit and charges on the retail.

But supposing the final retail price of salt, in the provinces, to be 700 Sicca rupees per 100 maunds, it would then cost the consumer twopence three-farthings per pound English. Every individual native would, as long as it was possible for him to get it, consume half a chittac, or one ounce per day; consequently a family of five persons, living on the labour of one man, must spend

ſpend 5-16ths of two-pence three-farthings in ſalt, or about three farthings a day. The medium price of labour throughout Bengal, is one anna and half per day, or three pence halfpenny Engliſh. Conſequently, when he has paid for the ſalt, without which his vegetable food would be poiſon to him, he has juſt ſeven farthings a day left to provide himſelf, a wife, and three children, with every other neceſſary of life, and to pay ſome rent for a mud-houſe; not to mention any allowance for ſalt for his cow, if he has one; for without ſalt the cattle in that country cannot exiſt for any uſeful purpoſe.

Mr. Francis concluded with ſome obſervations upon the letter of lord Cornwallis, dated 2d Auguſt 1789. The firſt paſſage he remarked upon was the following—"The ſecurity of property, however, and the certainty which each individual *will now feel* of being allowed to enjoy the fruits of his own labours, muſt operate uniformly as incitements to exertion and induſtry."—This, Mr. Francis ſaid, was a pretty plain confeſſion of the miſery and oppreſſion the inhabitants had long ſuffered.

The letter proceeded thus: "I have purpoſely, in theſe ſettlements, propoſed to withdraw the *gungs* from the zemindars, and to place them in the hands of government, in order that they may at all times have an unreſtrained power to raiſe or lower the internal taxes or duties on particular articles of produce or manufactures, as may be found moſt ſuitable to the general intereſts of commerce; but, above all, as the land revenue, when the jumma is fixed, cannot encreaſe, that the company may, through the medium of duties upon an encreaſed conſumption of the neceſſaries and luxuries of life, participate in the wealth and advantages, which, I truſt, will be the conſequences of a permanent revenue ſettlement to the inhabitants of this country." Upon this he remarked, that lord Cornwallis gave the people of the country a *quietus* in an eſſential point, viz. in a permanent revenue ſettlement, or fixed land-tax, and at the ſame time adviſed the company to tax the neceſſaries and luxuries of life. Would he have them encreaſe the tax on ſalt? and as to luxuries, what were the luxuries of life to a Hindoo? Did they expect to get any thing by a duty on betel-nut and tobacco? Or would they tax oil and ghee?

[*To be continued.*]

Iriſh Parliamentary Intelligence.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

WEDNESDAY—FEB. 19, 1794.

(Continued from our laſt.)

RIGHT hon. Mr. *Conolly* ſaid, he roſe with the utmoſt concern to ſpeak on the ſubject of reform, becauſe he was convinced it was the moſt delicate which could poſſibly be diſcuſſed at this time. The circumſtances in which the meaſure was firſt brought forward were very different from thoſe of the preſent period. Gentlemen were, however, pledged to the meaſure: they had laſt year brought it forward in order to gratify the wiſhes of the people. The gentlemen on the other ſide, and among them the right hon. bart. had agreed to go into a committee to inquire into the ſtate of the repreſentation, and in conſequence of that an hon. gent. at the cloſe of the ſeſſion brought forward his bill of reform. That bill had lain before the public for many months, and yet from no part of the community had any petition, addreſs, or remonſtrance on the ſubject been propoſed to ſhew that they approved the meaſure, or truſted either him or his right hon. friend. He could not tell whether it was fear of the late ſtrong laws, or attention to the affairs of France, or miſtruſt of the integrity of the houſe, that had prevented them from expreſſing their ſentiments; but he was certain, that requiſition had not been made to any ſheriff in the country to convene his bailiwick for that purpoſe. This being the caſe, having placed themſelves as mediators between the king and the people, and failed in their deſign of reconciling both on the ſubject of reform, he muſt infer that he and his right hon. friend had miſtaken the ſentiments of the people—he muſt infer that the people were ſatisfied with the threefold encreaſe of placemen, and with a double encreaſe of taxes rather than riſk the anarchy which had taken place by reform in another country. He proteſted this hung heavily on the mind of him and his friend, who thought himſelf bound to bring the meaſure forward. It evinced, however, that both were in error in ſuppoſing it was the deſire of the people to purify that houſe—it was, therefore time they ſhould correct their conduct in this inſtance.

Mr. *Jephſon* made his maiden ſpeech in ſupport of the bill. He ſaid, no rational reformer could object—INADEQUACY to the repreſentation propoſed by the bill which he thought entitled to better treatment than it had received, as well from its own merits as from the character and principles of the right hon. gent. who introduced it. Without having ſhewn any connection between the bill and what had taken place in France, the right hon. baronet had fully availed himſelf of thoſe events. The bill went not to introduce any new principle of repreſentation, but to bring into operation the old principle of the conſtitution, that property ſhould be repreſented: he reprobated as ſtrongly as any man the other principle ſo much in vogue—that of univerſal repreſentation—yet, he thought that keeping within the line of property the franchiſe ſhould be extended as widely as poſſible.

The appointment of a committee laſt ſeſſion to enquire into the ſtate of the repreſentation, cut up the objection on which the right hon. baronet had reſted—"that this was not a TIME for diſcuſſing the queſtion," and the reſolution of that committee, "that whenever a better plan of repreſentation which ſhould be offered, not hazard preſent advantages, the houſe would adopt it," was refutation of every argument that could be offered againſt agitating the queſtion of reform. Was it conſiſtent then in the houſe now to reject the bill on its principle without diſcuſſing its merits?

He then entered into a diſquiſition on the na-

ture and origin of borough repreſentation in our conſtitution, and ſhewed that if the general good, and not the private pecuniary intereſt of individuals, were conſidered, the franchiſe of election in boroughs would be as open in them as it is in counties at large.

The favourite argument that we ought to wait till reform were adopted in England before we adopt it here, could not hold, he ſaid, becauſe the evil did not exiſt in England in the ſame extent as here. The repreſentation was not there as here *groſsly inadequate*, and did not render an appeal of the monarch to his people, by a diſſolution of parliament perfectly nugatory.

There was another argument ſometimes urged againſt reform, that *nomination* ſuch as prevails in theſe kingdoms was equally adequate to the purpoſes of good government as *election*. This, he ſaid, was only the old argument of POWER—it was the argument of ARISTOCRACY—which certainly ought to poſſeſs its ſhare of power in the conſtitution, as it abundantly did—but which ſhould not be ſuffered to joſtle the people out of their ſhare, to which they had as good a claim.

The preſent, he ſaid, was the laſt plan of reform which could be produced on the exiſting materials afforded by the conſtitution. Any other plan not founded on the principles of this muſt be an innovation of the conſtitution—He denied that it was only a transfer of power from the proprietors of boroughs to the owners of the adjacent land. The influence which thoſe men would acquire would be of a different kind from that of the preſent borough proprietors—The one is the abſolute influence of wealth, operating by corruption on a very ſmall number of men—the other muſt be that honourable and beneficial influence of character and general conſideration, operating on a great body of individuals.

He remarked that a part of this bill was an oath to be taken by a member previous to taking his ſeat in the houſe, by which he was to diſclaim having uſed bribery or undue influence in his election. This oath, he obſerved, had been adviſedly admitted in every election bill which had ever paſſed that houſe, and it had been wiſely omitted, but wiſely only becauſe the adoption of one falſe principle of conduct often renders the adoption of another neceſſary.

As to the cry of FEAR againſt the preſent bill, he ſaid it was always the argument of tyrants—Henry the 8th cried FEAR to juſtify the worſt part of his conduct. The CHURCH had been in FEAR when in its moſt flouriſhing ſtate it lifted itſelf above the liberties of the people and againſt the Almighty himſelf. Whenever he heard the ſtrong raiſe the cry of *fear* againſt the weak it was always a prelude to ſome flagrant injuſtice. It was generally followed by the adoption of ſome word or phraſe which might be made to mean every thing, any thing or nothing as beſt ſuited the ends of thoſe who uſed it. Thus *malignancy* had been uſed in England, thus *ariſtocracy* was uſed in FRANCE, and thus *ſedition* was now uſed in theſe countries.—He concluded by declaring himſelf againſt the motion for poſtponing the 2d reading to the 1ſt of Auguſt.

Mr. *Egan* ſaid, that though he was a warm friend to the principles of REFORM yet he would vote againſt this bill in every ſtage of its progreſs, becauſe it contained not the true principle of reform, but the principle of corroborating ariſtocracy. The principle of it had laſt ſeſſion come ſculking into the houſe in a cranny of an election bill, and when by accident diſcovered there even its parents were aſhamed of it. He would oppoſe the bill becauſe he would not ſuffer any man to come forward with claims on public gratitude when in the meaſure he propoſes, he has not raiſed his eye above his family comprehenſion—a meaſure which is commenſurate only with family claims, and which draws a line of circumvallation about his *property* in the repreſentation of the people. He would not ſuffer him to bring in cart-loads thoſe who vote for him in the county to vote for him again in the borough—To effect a true reform let a committee be appointed to prepare a bill not limited by family views.

Right hon. *W. B. Ponſonby* ſaid, he had attended to the objections which had been made to the bill, but had not been induced by them to change his opinion. He perceived that the bill would now be rejected, but he conſoled himſelf with the recollection that many other meaſures had been repeatedly rejected in that houſe, and yet had afterwards paſſed by the very ſame houſe of commons; and miniſters took merit for at laſt adopting the meaſures which they had for years oppoſed.

The laſt ſeſſion, he ſaid, afforded ſome ſtrong inſtances of this, when adminiſtration conceded ſome meaſures, which they had oppoſed for a very long period, they had uniformly and ſtrenuouſly combated.—Indeed with reſpect to thoſe meaſures he thought they never would have been conceded but for this bill.

The bill, he ſaid, was peculiarly unfortunate; as it was oppoſed on contradictory grounds.

By one right hon. gent. it was oppoſed becauſe it tended to introduce a pure democracy. By another hon. gentleman it was oppoſed becauſe it confirmed an odious ariſtocracy. He defied, however, thoſe gentlemen who ſeemed jealous of the influence which property gave, probably becauſe they poſſeſſed little property themſelves, to deprive it of that influence without taking away the property itſelf.

As for the principle of univerſal repreſentation no man deteſted it more warmly or ſincerely than himſelf, and he was happy in this opportunity of declaring, that he had no communication with any ſocieties to which the right hon. baronet had alluded, particularly with the United Iriſhmen—he execrated their doctrines, and he ſuſpected their motives.

Mr. *O'Hara* ſaid he had frequently conſidered this ſubject with the cloſeſt attention, and had never changed his opinion on it. It was yet with great diffidence and regret that he differed on this queſtion from thoſe men with whom he had been accuſtomed to act for the three laſt parliaments. He was inclined to ſupport the conſtitution as it is, without he ſaw ſome ſtronger cauſe for changing it than had yet occurred. A reform of parlia-

parliament had in effect already taken place, in the excluſion of placemen and penſioners from the houſe, and the eſtabliſhment of reſponſible officers: He would try the effect of this reform before he went any farther, he would wait alſo to try the effect of another great alteration which had been made without doors—the great encreaſe of electors by the admiſſion of the catholics.

Mr. *Tighe*, jun. would ſupport every reform that would tend to diminiſh the influence of the crown in that houſe, which he thought exceſſive, and would prevent the trade of borough-jobbing. He approved the principle of this bill, becauſe it went to correct thoſe two evils, though he might object to ſome of the minor regulations of the bill—The time he ſaid would come when a parliamentary reform *muſt* be granted—he thought it better to grant it now to the wiſhes of the people, than to wait till thoſe wiſhes aſſumed the form of demands. For when the people ſhall demand it—who will DARE refuſe?

The principal objection made to the bill was, that the TIME was improper for it. To thoſe who live by *abuſes* the time for *reform* will never come. Another objection was, reſpect for antient inſtitutions. He too revered them, and he thought the Engliſh conſtitution, on its true and antient principle, was better than any other deviſed by human wiſdom for the ſecurity and happineſs of a people. But time had produced ſome abuſes in the practice of that conſtitution which ought to be removed. Only the abuſes, however, ſhould be taken away:—no reform ſhould be admitted which was not founded on the principles of the conſtitution itſelf.

With reſpect to France no ſimilarity he inſiſted could exiſt between any thing that had happened in that country, and that is likely to happen here. Indeed the example of France furniſhed the ſtrongeſt poſſible argument againſt thoſe who oppoſed the preſent meaſure: for the monarchy of France owes its ruin to thoſe who oppoſed temperate reform till they were able to reſiſt no longer.

The arguments uſed againſt the bill as tending to innovation, would have ſome equally againſt the eſtabliſhment of magna charta——againſt the ſtatute of treaſon in the time of Edward——againſt the habeas corpus act—and againſt eſtabliſhing the independence of judges.—He ſhewed that it was the grand principle of the conſtitution, that every man capable of giving an independent vote ſhould vote for repreſentatives——it was becauſe this principle did not now operate that miniſterial influence was paramount in the houſe, and if it continued, ſo it muſt ultimately and completely ſubvert the liberties of the country—the form indeed, of a conſtitution might remain but the ſpirit would be loſt. The Roman ſenate exiſted under the emperors, but it was no longer an aſſembly of men like Gods—they had degenerated into paraſites and buffoons.

Under the conſtitution in its preſent form, he ſaid, a place bill could be of no uſe whatſoever, becauſe to return a man to his conſtituents when he accepts a place, is only to return him to himſelf or his patron—in either caſe, he will, no doubt be re-elected. A reſponſibility bill was uſeleſs, for where was the man who would venture to impeach a miniſter for conduct however flagitious and unconſtitutional, even for a public ſale of the peerage, when he was ſure that a large majority would acquit him?

But the ſtrongeſt argument for the neceſſity of reform, was, the fact that parliament had loſt the confidence of the people. He inſtanced as a proof of the fact, the conduct of the catholic convention, who, though they had ſat under the very noſe of government by their connivance, and had obtained from the parliament what they had ſought, yet at the period of their diſſolution told them—declared to the country—that parliament was a body not properly conſtituted.

Another argument for reform was, that parliament was not only governed by miniſters, but by the miniſter of Great Britain—for proof of this fact he appealed again to experience. It was known, that the Britiſh miniſter had made parliament eat their words, and act in diametric oppoſition to their recorded opinion, and that too in a caſe where the intereſts of Ireland *alone* were concerned—a caſe not in any degree implicated with the general concerns of the empire.

The ſpirit of the times had been mentioned: he thought the preſent ſpirit of the times was peculiarly unfavourable to liberty—the liberty of kings and people. What was the caſe of Poland? That country had lately exhibited a phenomenon in politics—a virtuous king and a virtuous nobility wiſhing to give their people liberty and a conſtitution—What was the conſequence? A coalition of powers is formed to cruſh them, and the diabolical deſign is accompliſhed while the reſt of the governments of Europe ſtand inactive ſpectators—perhaps rejoicing at the event—becauſe it reads a leſſon to the world that if any people ſhall dare to be free the cannon of Pruſſia will thunder in their ears that men are made for kings, not kings for the good and happineſs of mankind. Holland, was another proof of the poſition—for there Great Britain had eſtabliſhed the principle of foreign interference, with a people endeavouring to regulate and ſecure their own freedom. Genoa, forced from her neutrality to unite with a people whoſe conduct perhaps ſhe deteſted, by the proud mandate of the coaleſced powers, was another inſtance of the truth, that the ſpirit of the times is not favourable to liberty, while the Britiſh iſlands themſelves furniſh a ſtill ſtronger, covered as they are with barracks, where the ſoldier is taught to conſider himſelf as having a different intereſt from his countrymen, and made to think of freedom as that with which he is to fight, and his fellow citizens, as thoſe he is to guard.

Sir *Lawrence Parſons* did not doubt but this meaſure, whatever might be its preſent fate, would at laſt be carried, and that before any of the houſe were much older. Having long and anxiouſly conſidered this ſubject, he declared it his opinion, that the Engliſh conſtitution purged from the abuſes of its practice was the beſt and wiſeſt which human policy had ever framed. It had ſtood for many centuries—but it had ſtood by repairs, and had preſerved the freedom of

England, while the reſt of Europe ſunk in ſlavery.

He had read the modern declaimers againſt this conſtitution, and ſaw no argument that had weight againſt it, but its expence.—That expence originated from parliament—gentlemen beſt knew how. Corruption, in his mind, was not an eſſential part of the Britiſh conſtitution;—ſome, he knew, had endeavoured to prove that it was. To the inſects that live in humidity, which feed on the morbid part of every ſubſtance, to thoſe which prey upon rottenneſs, but from the ſound drop off, and are no more heard of;—to thoſe corruption is neceſſary—to thoſe only.—The conſtitution he ſaid, had exiſted before corruption was known in it—it was not known at the revolution—it was not known until introduced by ſir Robert Walpole. Why then might not this conſtitution now exiſt, if corruption were removed? Men talk of the expence of royalty—the monarch in England lives little more expenſively than many Engliſh noblemen, or Iriſh nabobs.

The expence of the court here where we have only the ſimular of a monarch is ſtill leſs. It was therefore the ſtipendiary repreſentatives which made monarchy expenſive. The ſtipendiary repreſentative has his ſtipendiary followers—and corruption is thus extended throughout the community by innumerable ramifications. The great plunderer will naturally be ſupported by the little plunderer, and all will tell you that corruption is neceſſary in the conſtitution, becauſe it is neceſſary to them—but he would ſay, 'twas a blaſphemy againſt the conſtitution. That conſtitution he thought was more wiſely framed than that of America, where corruption is unknown; and for the nature of Iriſhmen he thought it was as little prone to corruption as that of other nations. It was only the moſt deſpicable of governments, which made them corrupt by tampering with their virtue—they firſt taint them, then go to another country, reproach them with the taint which themſelves have communicated, and make the name of an Iriſh Parliament a ſynonyme, for corruption.

The ſimple conſideration in reforming, he ſaid, ſhould be, how to extract from the maſs of the people three hundred men, beſt qualified to know, and beſt diſpoſed to act what was for the public good. Inſtead of this, moſt men ſeemed anxious to acquire for the people political power. The common error indeed was to attend rather to the acquiſition of political power, than of good government. In conſequence of this error it was that the plans of individual repreſentation were broached, which were deſervedly reprobated by both ſides of the houſe.

It was objected to the bill, that this was not the time for it. Why? Was the houſe ſo ſeriouſly occupied? What elſe had they to do? If any enquiry into the war was propoſed, or any paper called for, they were told—that ſhould be left to England! If a commercial arrangement was called for, they were told that would irritate. This was a ſubject in which England had no concern whatſoever, and yet they were told it was not the time to entertain it. No! it was a time for ſervility—for corruption—for ignominious ſilence on the deareſt and beſt intereſts of the people! The old principle was, that the redreſs of grievances and ſupply ſhould go hand in hand. What was now become of that principle? It was become obſolete.—What could gentlemen ſay when they went back to their conſtituents? Alas! the misfortune was—they had no conſtituents to go to! COULD SUCH AN IMPOSTURE CONTINUE?

How, he aſked, would America when forming her conſtitution, have received a propoſal that Mr. Franklin ſhould be permitted to return two members to congreſs for an old ruin in Penſylvania—and Mr. Waſhington two for a certain tree in Virginia? would they not have conſidered the propoſer as mad? and could it be conſiſtent with ſound ſenſe in the houſe to continue that, which if propoſed to any reaſonable people, would affix inſanity to the propoſer?

If the people ſhould not, however, in the preſent inſtance obtain redreſs they ſhould not reſort to any other means for redreſs than application to the legiſlature. They had already obtained by perſeverance many valuable acquiſitions in conſtitution, and they would by ſimilar perſeverance ultimately obtain this.

Dr. *Browne* ſaid, that though he had no new ſentiments to offer on this occaſion, he thought it juſt to ſpeak, in order to ſhew that he was at his poſt—What he had to offer he thought he ſhould addreſs to the right hon. baronet who oppoſed the bill, as the gentlemen on the other ſide ſeemed to have elected him their perſonal repreſentative. The arguments he had offered might be reduced to three heads:

The example of what had happened in France—
The danger of innovation—and—
The proper conduct of parliament.

The example of France made againſt the right hon. baronet for the reaſon of all the miſchiefs which had happened in that country was not having timely yielded to a moderate reform. The way to avoid ſimilar miſchiefs in this country was to concede that reformation early, which if not conceded will at laſt be effected by violence. What time could be better for reform than the preſent? From what he had ſeen he was convinced that a time of terror only would be thought a time for reform. He reprobated the conduct of the French, but he could not help ſeeing, nevertheleſs, the abuſes of the old government of France, well as the preſent abuſes of our own government. He did not wiſh to imitate all the conduct of the French, but wiſhed that houſe ſo far reſembled the French convention as that a member riſing to ſpeak in a debate might be more able to influence its deciſions than the miniſter—he might wiſh perhaps to go further, and that the miniſters here as there, were rather ſtanding at the bar as ſervants, than directing the houſe, as maſters. He denied the principle that ALL have a right to a ſhare in the government of a country. As well might every child aſſume a ſhare in the direction of family concerns. This plan of univerſal repreſentation had ſometimes before been attempted

attempted to be introduced. Colonel Ireland, in the great rebellion, had attempted it, but he was obliged to make ſome limitations, and exclude from the franchiſe all thoſe who did not pay taxes, ſervants, and all who lived on charity. The plan was therefore impracticable as it was dangerous. There were, however, many moderate men who entertained no ſuch romantic notions, and yet have looked long with horror at the abuſes of miniſters, and for a reform in the repreſentation. Theſe would probably not be ſeditious, but they might be prompted to ſtand neuter in the moment of corruption, and poſſibly might at laſt be even prompted to an extreme.

Theſe men ſhould be ſatisfied as to the good conduct of parliament; they certainly had of late years done ſome good, but they had always done it in the hour of danger and the day of calamity —they did good only when they were driven to it. He concluded by declaring he would ſupport the bill now, and whenever it ſhould be brought forward, and he hoped it would be repeatedly brought forward till it ſhould be at length obtained. It would be the rejection not the diſcuſſion of it which would now irritate the public mind.

Mr. *Grattan* ſhewed that the bill obſerved the old landmarks of the conſtitution, and would, if enacted, enſure to the country a ſafe and ſound Britiſh conſtitution. The object of the bill was to avoid as much as poſſible a new geography of the country. It found the landed intereſt badly repreſented, and the repreſentation of the commercial intereſt merely nominal. It propoſed therefore to enlarge the landed repreſentation, and to give to the commercial intereſt, a real repreſentative. In order to do this it enlarged the circuit of the baronies to a periphery of twenty-four miles. To object that this was ſtill to preſerve the intereſt of an oligarchy was futile, for if any man poſſeſſed a landed property 24 miles in circuit, that man, divide the country in any manner whatſoever, muſt ſtill preſerve his influence, if he be not robbed of the property, and it was the principle of the conſtitution that he ſhould do ſo.—But the fact was that no ſuch eſtates exiſted in this country. The bill therefore opened the boroughs from an oligarchy to a mixture of ariſtocracy and democracy—and therefore was unexceptionable in that inſtance. Some amendments indeed might be made in the commons, among which one was the admiſſion of tenants for a certain number of years to the franchiſe—on the principle that property, perſonal, as well as real, ſhould be repreſented.

The right hon. baronet had ſaid, that the bill would not gratify the people. He could not ſay whether it would or not—but certainly it OUGHT to gratify them. To ſome however it certainly would not, for they would get nothing by it—but to the farmer of 10l. a year, or to the leaſehold proprietor of 20l. a year, he thought it would be agreeable, becauſe theſe with their landlords would by it return the maſs of the repreſentation. It would promote the intereſt of this numerous claſs, and therefore it was fair to infer that it would be agreeable to their feelings. If the bill had not an outcry raiſed in its favour, it was becauſe it was in conſonance with the ſpirit of the conſtitution, and did not place the dregs of the community on a level with the ſafe citizen, it was becauſe it attended rather to the voice of the conſtitution than that of the rabble.

The argument which the right hon. baronet had drawn from the exceſſes of France would be valid, to ſhew that it was dangerous to venture on unneceſſary experiments. But he might carry the argument too far; it might go againſt any reform in the executive as well as the legiſlative, and yet the right hon. baronet himſelf had voted in ſeveral inſtances, for this reform, in the laſt ſeſſion.

The true principle was to have in view the two ſpecies of abuſes of democracy and of monarchy. 'Twas this principle had directed his right hon. friend in the formation of his bill.—If France was a leſſon againſt reforming theſe, the whole of that leſſon ſhould be taken. The accumulation of abuſes in that country had made reform neceſſary—the refuſal of that reform in time had induced the dreadful evils which followed. He did not agree that the progreſs of the French to the ſubverſion of their government was gradual —the ſubverſion was immediate and total—for the firſt national aſſembly was dragooned, ſo was the ſecond and third, and when a revolution is effected by arms, ſuch ſubverſion muſt take place. Here the caſe was different, there was not even a petition before the houſe for the meaſure much leſs a violent demand. The beſt way to prevent an Iriſhman from admiring the meretricious beauties of a republic, was to give him the reformed beauties of monarchy.

The right hon. bart. had ſaid, take care that if you adopt this bill you do not go on with reform till you come to univerſal repreſentation. He would adopt the bill on the principle that it would ſave the country from that curſe—for by adopting the bill, they would contend againſt pure democracy with a rental of 2,000,000l. per annum, and all the landed intereſt of the kingdom, whereas now they contend againſt it only by a rental of 200,000l. and about 40 or 50 individuals—for no more are intereſted in ſupporting the borough ſyſtem; whereas all the property of the kingdom would then be intereſted againſt the admiſſion of the rabble.—The property of the public is now an inactive ſpectator of the conteſt—it would then be the active champion of the conſtitution.

As to the danger of agitating the queſtion, his friend found the queſtion afloat: he did not create it. He thought more irritation would reſult from ſmothering than from diſcuſſing the queſtion. If it were rejected now, they would think themſelves ill uſed, and if they loſt hope of attaining the object by means of parliament, they might perhaps be tempted to reſort to other means; they might turn to the contemplation of that plan which ſeemed to have been ſent among them to make them mad.

As to the conduct of parliament, in ſome inſtances parliament had worked well, in others not—In the laſt century, there was a ſpace of 85 years nearly without any parliament; and within a period of 40 years, a counter-reform of parliament

ment had taken place—Forty placemen, the repreſentatives not of the people, but of the miniſter, had been added—Was this no innovation on the conſtitution, and was it an innovation to add thirty-four members to repreſent the property of the country? Gentlemen talked as of a ſettled conſtitution, did not every body know that boroughs were bought and ſold—that they are the fluctuating property which is purchaſed by thoſe who have no dependance but in the trade of parliament. The publicity of this circumſtance alone created a neceſſity for adopting the bill.—The enemies of the bill were of two claſſes—the advocates for abuſe, and thoſe for popular repreſentation.—Againſt the advocates for abuſe, who ſhelter themſelves under the antiquity of the preſent form, he ſhewed that anciently the whole function, as well of council as of legiſlation, belonged to the repreſentatives of the people—the repreſentatives of the landed and commercial property of the country. Even in thoſe earlier times, the principle of reform exiſted and operated; for the writs iſſued to the ſheriff followed the property:—he mentioned an inſtance where the ſheriff was charged to return ONE or TWO members, as the town or borough happened to be GREAT or SMALL—This power had indeed been abuſed in the hands of the crown, it was now propoſed by the bill to veſt it in parliament.

The advocates for abuſe had gone ſo far as to ſay, that parliament muſt be corrupt, and for proof they had recurred to the national aſſembly and the long parliament. The fact was, that both theſe aſſemblies were dependant. If gentlemen ſay, that the ſenate muſt be corrupted, they cut up all legitimate governments by the roots, and lay the ſeeds of all thoſe evils which they reprobate with ſuch juſt and rapid indignation in another country.

The ſecond claſs of enemies to the bill were—the friends of univerſal repreſentation.—Theſe repudiate the conſtitution of England, which the wiſdom of ages had framed, and introduce another ſyſtem founded according to them on natural right. In his opinion, it was founded on a violation of the moſt obvious of thoſe rights. There was no natural right more undeniable than that every man had a right to the fruits of his induſtry. Was it not a violation of that right that the man who has neither induſtry nor property ſhould tax him? And would not the principle be peculiarly unjuſt in this country, where nearly two million of the people were paupers?

If ſuch a principle were admitted, what deſcription of people would ſuffer by it? the reſpectable farmer and the ſecure citizen.—The candidate, inſtead of applying to him, would apply to the labourers in his ſtable—he would apply to the beggars on the bridge—the criminal in the gaol, and the poor in the hoſpitals. The mob of electors thus raked together would ſhoulder the ſober citizen from the huſtings, and the ſhout of whiſkey would return the members of the ſenate and elect a felonious repreſentation. Annual elections too—what miſchiefs would not they induce in ſuch a caſe? The example of Swords might illuſtrate—they would introduce a ſtate of permanent intoxication, by which all the uſeful arts and labours of life would be ſuperſeded—they would, in a word, lead directly to the annihilation of royalty, and the eſtabliſhment of a French republic.

He would not ſay that this would be the immediate conſequence, but if ſuch a change were once introduced, he would make up his mind for both events. If ſuch were to be the reform, he would infinitely rather ſubmit to the preſent abuſes; and if he thought this bill went in the moſt remote degree to introduce ſuch a ſyſtem, he would immediately abandon it. Such a ſyſtem of reform, he ſaid, nothing could have emboldened any men to preſent, but a conviction that in the exiſting one there were evils the moſt enormous.

Mr *Grattan* concluded a very able and eloquent ſpeech by reading two appoſite extracts, one from Locke on Government, the other from lord Bolingbroke.

He was followed by Mr. *G. Ponſonby*, who ably ſupported the bill. He anſwered the argument drawn from the unfitneſs of time, by calling on the clerk to read the reſolutions of the houſe laſt year, by which the ſubject was taken up, and replied ably to what had been advanced againſt the bill by ſir Hercules Langriſhe.

Right hon. Mr. *B. Conyngham* thought the bill went to transfer the repreſentation of the commercial intereſt to the landed property, which was certainly not the principle of the conſtitution. He thought it was unadviſeable to agitate the queſtion at all, becauſe if the houſe ſhould not think proper to go the lengths which the people wiſhed, then they would be irritated by the diſappointment.

Chanc. of the Exchq. ſpoke againſt the bill. He vindicated the houſe from the charge of inconſiſtency; for laſt year they had only bound themſelves to enquire—they had done ſo—but he would not agree in conſequence of that enquiry to impeach the preſent ſtate of the repreſentation, as the bill did, till a better plan ſhould be offered. To adopt this plan would be to open a door to innovation, and not to ſatisfy;—the houſe had not omnipotence—they could not create a reforming ſpirit, and then ſay, "hitherto ſhalt thou go, and no farther."

He ſaid, that to agree to ſyſtems of reform now, would have the appearance of countenancing French principles in act, while they were reprobating them in words. It was wiſdom, he ſaid, either to grant every thing at once to the people, or to keep things as they were.—Temporizing experiments were dangerous.

Mr. *Curran* ſpoke with his uſual ability in ſupport of the bill. He ridiculed very happily the abuſes in the repreſentation, and placed in a moſt ludicrous point of view the wretched repreſentative who is returned to the houſe of commons by the king's writ of *capias ad ſatisfaciendum* inſtead of the ſheriff's writ of election, and who comes into the houſe to repreſent only himſelf, his wants, and his creditors.

Mr. *L. Fox* oppoſed the bill, on the ground that property was not the *only* thing which by the

ſpirit

ſpirit of the conſtitution ſhould be repreſented. The ability and the information of the people ſhould be repreſented alſo—and theſe would be totally excluded from the houſe by ſuch a reform as that propoſed, which would convert the houſe of commons into an aſſembly of mere landholders.

Mr. *Barrington* oppoſed the bill, as did colonel Blaquiere.

At twelve o'clock a diviſion took place on the queſtion on the motion of ſir Hercules that the bill be read a ſecond time on the firſt of Auguſt.

Ayes	142
Noes	44
Majority	98

Friday, March 7.] Sir *H. Cavendiſh* moved the order of the day for defaulters to make their excuſes on oath, for their abſence on the ſeveral calls of the houſe.

The clerk was proceeding to read the liſt of defaulters. On coming to the name of

A. Browne, eſq.—that gentleman roſe, and ſtated, that he did not now think himſelf bound to offer any excuſe on oath, becauſe by the law under which the defaults were puniſhable, the excuſe was directed to be taken on oath on the day next after the ſtriking of the committee, when the names of the defaulters ſhould be called over. If this were not a ſufficient apology, he had to ſtate in excuſe, that he had attended on two committees this parliament; and by an act of the 12th of the king it was enacted, that a member ſhould not be compellable to ſerve on more than one committee for trying conteſted elections—unleſs the houſe ſhould previouſly have reſolved, that a ſufficiency of members did not attend to do buſineſs.

Mr. *Oſborne* ſupported the opinion of Mr. Browne, as did Mr. Prime Serjeant; and ſir H. Cavendiſh's opinion was ſupported by the Attorney General, ſir John and colonel Blaquiere, Mr. Serjeant Barrington, and Mr. M. Beresford, who ſhewed that by the ſtatute of 1791, the act quoted by Mr. Brown was repealed, and conſequently, that his excuſe had no foundation whatſoever; but that it was imperative on the houſe not to diſcharge defaulting members without paying fees. Beſides, even upon the very ſtatute he had quoted, the 12th of the king—he would find his excuſe equally void, for it would appear from the journals, that the very reſolution which the honourable and learned member had mentioned to be neceſſary, ſtating that the number of members who had not ſerved in committees, was inſufficient to furniſh new ones, in order to render him liable to fees, had actually paſſed in the ſeſſion of 1791, and he moved that the clerk do read it from the journals, which was accordingly done.

The ſeveral members who ſpoke on the ſubject roſe ſeveral times.

Sir *Boyle Roche* at laſt roſe, and ſaid if the ſubject was to be conſidered under the head of law, he certainly ſhould not pretend to underſtand it; and he was convinced, that if it was to be decided by the gentlemen of the long robe, the diſcuſſion might laſt a week and be never the nearer to deciſion. Gentlemen of the law could ſpeak with as much fluency on the wrong ſide as on the right—and ſure he was, they would never agree among themſelves.

He ſhould not therefore pretend to underſtand a matter of law, upon which lawyers themſelves were divided in ſentiment—but if it was to be conſidered under the head of equity and common ſenſe, he could feel no difficulty whatever in underſtanding it. He conſidered the fees of office as juſtly the right of the officer as any other part of his ſalary, and every man bound in honour and juſtice to diſcharge them. He had himſelf ſerved three months in the ſeſſion of 1791, upon the moſt ſlaviſh of all parliamentary duty, election committees; he felt his health much impaired thereby, and did afterwards purpoſely abſent himſelf from calls of the houſe, in order to avoid being again appointed—but he always came the following day and paid his fees—and he could not feel himſelf juſtified in honour or conſcience in withholding them.

Mr. *Speaker* at length ſuggeſted, that the beſt way to bring the matter to a fair iſſue would be, to move for the clerk to amend his return, by annexing to the names of the defaulting members, the ſpecific dates of their reſpective defaults, from which the houſe would ſee whether ſuch defaults were previous or ſubſequent to the reſolution juſt read; if previous, and after ſuch members had ſerved in two committees, the excuſe would be admiſſible; if not, the contrary.

The debate terminated by a motion of

Mr. *Oſborne*, "that the clerk return to the houſe a *liſt of the dates* of the ſeveral orders for taking defaulters into cuſtody."

The motion paſſed, and was followed by another—"that the defaulters do attend in their places on Monday next."

An amendment was propoſed, that "the firſt of Auguſt next" be ſubſtituted for "Monday next."

The amendment was negatived without a diviſion, and the original motion adopted.

10.] Purſuant to a former motion,

Sir *Henry Cavendiſh* brought forward the buſineſs relative to the payment of fees due by members for non-attendance. He moved, after a ſhort introduction, that the names of the defaulters be called over, and that ſuch as decline to appear, or omit to offer excuſes upon oath, and thoſe whoſe excuſes ſhall not be allowed, be held to be in cuſtody in the ſame manner as if actually taken by the ſerjeant at arms.

The queſtion with reſpect to Dr. Browne, was,—"that being indebted to the officers of the houſe a certain ſum, in conſequence of being ordered into cuſtody on different calls of the houſe he do diſcharge the ſame, on or before Thurſday next." It terminated by a declaration of the doctor, that he was ready to give in an excuſe on oath if the houſe thought themſelves empowered to adminiſter it.—The ſpeaker declaring it his opinion, that the houſe had that power with reſpect to defaults ſince the paſſing of Grenville's act—Dr. Browne ſwore, that he had ſerved on two committees, for trying conteſted elections this parliament.

The

The queſtion being put, that the excuſe be allowed, it was negatived without a diviſion.

A variety of excuſes were offered on the part of defaulters, all of them upon oath. Several were admitted—others diſallowed. The only caſe remarkable, and upon which a diviſion took place, was that of lord Cole.

Mr. *Uniack* roſe to offer an excuſe for his noble friend; he ſtated, that he had not taken his ſeat prior to the ſeſſion to which the reſolution had reference; but what he relied upon principally was, that his lordſhip being abroad for the purpoſe of his *education*, [A LOUD LAUGH] it was morally impoſſible that he could attend the orders of the houſe.

Doctor *Duigenan* roſe, with a conſiderable degree of warmth, to oppoſe this excuſe. It was his intention to have given a ſilent vote upon the queſtion, but the apology had roufed him to declare that it contained a libel upon the character and dignity of parliament. Was it decent to ſay that a ſenator, a legiſlator for four millions of ſouls, ſhould be excuſed from his official attendance upon the ſuppoſition that he was attending to his *education*, which it muſt be ſuppoſed he was poſſeſſed of, in order to be competent to make laws? He never could hear ſo degrading a ſatire upon parliament, in the ſhape of an excuſe, without feeling and expreſſing his indignation.

Many members gave their opinions *pro* and *con*. It was alledged that the caſe of Mr. Tighe, who was in Ruſſia, was ſtronger than that of lord Cole, although his excuſe upon oath had been diſallowed. After a moſt tedious and inſipid converſation to every one except the parties immediately concerned, the houſe divided on the queſtion of allowing lord Cole's excuſe, when there appeared,

Ayes,	—	34
Noes,	—	12

Tellers for the ayes, right hon. Mr. Beresford —for the noes, ſir Henry Cavendiſh.

After which ſir *H. Cavendiſh* moved, that ſuch defaulters as had not offered excuſes that were allowed of ſhould pay the fees due to the officers on or before Thurſday next, on pain of incurring the cenſure of the houſe.

This motion, after ſome converſation on the propriety of excepting from it thoſe who are out of the kingdom, for which purpoſe, however, nothing was propoſed, paſſed in the affirmative.

14.] Sir *John Blaquiere* propoſed a ſtring of reſolutions, grounded upon the evidence which had tranſpired in the committee on the buſineſs of the grand canal.

Mr. *Ormſby* oppoſed the motion as unparliamentary.

Dr. *Duigenan* concurred in opinion with the laſt hon. member. There had been a diſagreeable miſunderſtanding in another houſe from a committee having travelled out of their juriſdiction, and therefore they ſhould be the more cautious not to plunge into the ſame error. The reſolutions propoſed had not been adopted by the committee upon the proceedings of which they were founded; it followed of courſe that they ought to be rejected by the houſe.

The queſtion was accordingly put by the Speaker on the whole ſtring of reſolutions together, and they were rejected without a diviſion.

The hon. Mr. *Anneſley* after a general cenſur upon the conduct of the canal company, which upon inveſtigation he was of opinion would appear to have been highly improper, moved that the commiſſioners of impreſt accounts be charged to enquire into the conduct and expenditures of the royal canal company, with the probability there was of the works being completed to full public advantage, as contained in their eſtimates.

Mr. *Ormſby* oppoſed the motion. The chancellor of the exchequer who was the natural guardian of the public money, had not thought ſuch a meaſure neceſſary, and the fact was, that before the company could draw a ſhilling of public money to their aid, they were obliged to have the approbation of the commiſſioners of impreſt accounts.

Sir *John Blaquiere* ſupported Mr. Anneſley's motion, and declared that he thought the hon. member was diſcharging his duty to the public, and with honour to himſelf.

Mr. *Vandeleur* was againſt the motion, as implying that the eſtabliſhment of a commiſſion or board of impreſt accounts was worth nothing to the public, and that the members who compoſed it had neglected their duty.

Mr. *John Wolfe* was for the motion. If the conduct of the corporation had been irreproachable, they had nothing to fear from a report of the board of impreſt accounts, and they themſelves had frequently called out for an examination. He could not conceive how any of their friends would now wiſh to ſcreen them from it. He profeſſed himſelf to be actuated by no perſonal animoſity—and as to the undertaking in queſtion, he wiſhed it entire ſucceſs.

Mr. *Corry* ſhewed the motion to be ſuperfluous, by reading from the act of the legiſlature, under which the commiſſioners of impreſt accounts derived, that they were obliged to perform the requiſites contained in the motion.

Mr. *Holmes* (one of the commiſſioners) teſtified what Mr. Corry had advanced.

The motion was withdrawn by Mr. *Anneſly*, it being underſtood that the report which he deſired would be prepared by next ſeſſion.

N. B. On the days not noticed in the above intelligence there was no particular debate; or the houſe did not ſit.

25.] This day the royal aſſent was given to ſuch bills as were paſſed by both houſes.

After which his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant delivered the following ſpeech to both houſes of parliament:

"*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

"THE important objects which engaged your attention being concluded, I am enabled to relieve you from further attendance in parliament.

"I have his majeſty's commands to expreſs his moſt entire ſatisfaction in the zeal and unanimity which have governed your proceedings during the preſent ſeſſion, and the cheerfulneſs with which you have provided for the extraordinary

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dinary emergencies of the ſtate. This conduct, ſo honourable to yourſelves, muſt eſſentially tend to preſerve the internal tranquility of your country, to maintain that free conſtitution under which you enjoy ſuch ineſtimable bleſſings, and is highly beneficial to the general intereſts of the empire, and to the common cauſe of Europe.

"*Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,*

"I am directed by his majeſty to return you his thanks for the very liberal ſupplies you have voted for the public ſervice. You may rely on their faithful application to the purpoſes for which they were granted.

"*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

"His majeſty feels with the moſt cordial pleaſure, the loyalty of his people of Ireland, and the affectionate determination they have always ſhewn to ſtand and fall with Great Britain. In the conteſt in which we are engaged by the unprovoked aggreſſions of France, meaſures of the moſt vigorous nature continue to be requiſite, and his majeſty will perſevere in his exertions in conjunction with his allies, againſt the common enemy. Under the Divine Providence, on the juſtice of his cauſe, on the diſciplined valour of his fleets and armies, and the united efforts of all his ſubjects, his majeſty relies for a favourable iſſue to a war, which, on the part of our enemies, is waged againſt the envied liberty of theſe kingdoms, and the eſtabliſhed government of every ſtate in Europe.

"I applaud your wiſdom in paſſing an act for preſerving the property within this kingdom of perſons reſident in France from becoming the plunder of thoſe who have uſurped the government of that unhappy country. It is peculiarly our duty to ſupport the ſecurity of private property, and to maintain the principles of juſtice, when doctrines have been advanced, and attempts endeavoured to be carried into execution for the deſtruction of both.

"I am ſorry to inform you, that in ſome parts of the county of Cork, the people, deluded by the artifices of wicked and deſigning men, have aſſembled in numerous bodies, and have compelled many to take unlawful oaths. The timely exertions of the magiſtrates, aided by the ſpirited conduct of his majeſty's regular and militia forces, have nearly ſuppreſſed thoſe diſturbances.

"No attention ſhall be wanting on my part to the protection of the peaceable and induſtrious, and to the puniſhment of offenders againſt the laws, and eſpecially of thoſe who have inſtigated the ignorant to the commiſſion of ſuch dangerous crimes.

"The early concluſion of the ſeſſion will enable you, in your reſpective counties, to enforce a due obedience to the laws, and to inculcate that ſpirit of loyalty to the king, and attachment to our happy conſtitution, which has ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed your conduct.

"I am truly ſenſible of the repeated teſtimonies I have received of your confidence and ſupport, for which I return you moſt ſincere thanks, and ſhall endeavour to enſure their continuance by employing every power with which I am inveſted for the maintenance of public tranquility, and the advantage of this kingdom, and by faithfully repreſenting to his majeſty your unremitting attention to the welfare of Ireland, and your unanimous exertions for the general welfare of the empire."

POETRY.

On hearing of Mrs. P. Latouche's going for England. By a Young Lady.

ALAS, too true! well may Ierna mourn,
Well may ſhe weep, and wiſh her quick return.
Oh! life too precious on the ſeas to truſt,
The ſport of winds and waves, muſt ſhe be toſt?
Ye guardian Nereids, oh, preſerve with care,
And ſpeed the paſſage of the heavenly fair.
How many on her bounteous will depend,
The orphan's, parent's, and the widow's friend.
In her, united, ſhine the charms of ſenſe,
Wiſdom, and truth, with ſweet benevolence.
Her heart with conſcious innocence is bleſt,
And heaven-born CHARITY's her chiefeſt gueſt.
How many infants' hands are daily ſpread,
Intreating bleſſings on her honor'd head;
Sighs into raptures turn when ſhe appears,
Vice ſhe reforms, and weeping virtue cheers,
Each child of ſorrow finds in her a friend,
To all ſhe doth her bounteous hands extend.
Angels can be but noble, good, and fair,
And, ſeeing her, we know what angels are.
Then ſpeed, ye heavenly pow'rs, her quick return,
Nor let each grateful heart her abſence mourn.

Hib. Mag. June, 1794.

Sonnet by Moonlight. By the ſame.

IN ſome rural retreat how delightful to rove,
If bleſt with a friend whom the heart can approve;
How ſweetly and ſwift do the hours glide away,
Whilſt the moon, 'midſt the trees, her mild beams does diſplay.
Then hail, gentle planet, fair orb of the night,
That inſpires the ſoft boſom with penſive delight;
How dear to my breaſt the ſoft rays you diſplay;
More ſoothing to me than the glitter of day.
While free from all hurry, all buſtle, and ſtrife,
'Tis here I enjoy the calm bleſſings of life.
Let others prefer the delights of the ball,
But give me the grove, and the ſweet waterfall;
The nightingale's note, and complete is my boon,
With the friend who I love, and the light of the moon.

To a Lady, on her deſiring a Deſcription of Bellevue Gardens. By the ſame.

I.

'TIS plain, dear girl, you do not know
The ſcene you wiſh my pen to ſhew,
But ah! how hard the taſk;

Yet the request was made by you,
And hard 'twou'd be to find out who
Refuses what you ask.

II.

But ah! what language e'er can tell
The blooming charms that always dwell
On this enchanting spot:
When winter holds his icy reign,
And fills with snow each hill and plain,
His reign is here forgot.

III.

Eternal spring blooms all the year,
Seasons may change—no change is here,
Continual bloom we find;
Here fragrant groves, and rosy bowers,
Adorn'd with ever-blooming flowers,
Enchant both sight and mind.

IV.

Pomona does with Flora join,
To form a paradise divine,
In beauteous array;
But fruits and flowers together shew,
On PENNICK * both their skill bestow,
And both exert their sway.

V.

The melon, and the luscious pine,
The downy peach, the loaded vine,
Pomona's power declare;
Th' auricula, and blushing rose,
Jonquil, narcissus, all that blows,
Prove Flora's fav'rite care.

VI.

The painter here his skill might try,
The botanist, with curious eye,
A thousand subjects find;
The lofty poet here might sing
The beauties of eternal spring,
In numbers unconfin'd.

VII.

But ah! my muse is much too weak,
Of this enchanting place to speak,
And give the praises due;
Too great for my weak pen's the task,
To give the pleasure which you ask,
In colours just and true.

VIII.

Then come, my friend, no more delay,
But prove the truth of what I say,
And bless my longing sight;
See flow'rs in bright succession rise,
Ting'd with a thousand various dies,
And breathing sweet delight.

IX.

The glowing orange here you'll view,
And find the paler lemon too,
Th' undying myrtle see;
In short, ten thousand charms you'll find,
For nature's beauty's here combin'd
In rich variety.

X.

In walls of glass, 'midst sweetest flow'rs,
Here you may pass the peaceful hours,
Sooth'd by the softest strains;
Sweet sounding from the plaintive flute,
Which, with thy melting voice, might suit
To lull the keenest pains.

N O T E.

* Pennick, Gardener there.

XI.

Then come, sweet girl, no more delay,
Let me enjoy one happy day,
In this sweet spot with you.
And, if on earth there can be found
An Eden, or enchanted ground,
You'll own it is BELLEVUE.

An Elegy to the Memory of a Friend.

WHEN worthless grandeur swells the trump of fame,
And venal titles on the marble shine,
To breathe its tribute to a worthy name,
Should not the task, O, generous muse, be thine.

If e'er the breast with pity prone to bleed,
The gentle feelings, or the judgment strong,
Deserved, sweet maid, the tribute of thy meed;
'Tis due to him to whom these lines belong.

Lamented shade! by thee was once possest
Whate'er has genius on her sons bestow'd;
The smoothest manners, and the tend'rest breast,
The tongue, whence wisdom's purest dictates flow'd.

'Twas thine, the seed of modest worth to rear,
And from misfortune's brow the cloud to chace,
Of poverty the lonely cot to cheer,
And to the troubled spirit whisper peace.

Of truth thou boldly strove to spread the reign,
Of superstition's night disperse the gloom,
To virtue's noblest exercises train,
And for a brighter world the soul to plume.

But ah! full fast our sickly comforts fade,
The brightest prospects bloom but to decay:
Too soon for us heaven bade disease invade,
And call'd to its bless'd scenes thy soul away.

No more we hear thy voice, with comfort fraught,
Nor in thy harmless wit soft pleasure find;
Mute is that tongue, the noblest truths that taught,
And cold the breast that warm'd for human kind.

Yet ne'er shall time thy fond remembrance raze,
Thy worth shall live in ev'ry virtuous breast;
The spotless purity that mark'd thy days,
A lasting epitaph hath there impress.

Full oft at eve, while social circles meet,
And cheat with various lore the passing hour;
With pensive eyes we'll mark thy vacant seat,
And thy lost converse fruitlessly deplore.

Tho' thy instructive voice no more we hear,
Thy blameless life shall not unuseful teach;
Thy gentle virtues, in remembrance dear,
Shall yet thro' many a day persuasive preach.

J. K.

STATE

STATE-PAPERS and GAZETTE INTELLIGENCE.

Treaty between his Britannic Majeſty, the King of Pruſſia, and the States General of the United Provinces.

THEIR majeſties the king of Great Britain and of Pruſſia, and their high mightineſſes the States General of the United Provinces being animated by the ſame deſire of putting a ſtop to the progreſs of a ſyſtem of anarchy and crimes, by which civil ſociety has been menaced, and being deſirous of concerting together to ſupport, in the moſt effectual manner, the common cauſe in which they are engaged, in conſequence of the unjuſt and cruel war which the perſons who exerciſe the powers of government in France, have raiſed up againſt ſeveral of the great powers of Europe; have agreed, in conformity to the bonds of friendſhip and alliance which ſo happily unite them, to conclude the preſent treaty: and, for this purpoſe, they have named their reſpective plenipotentiaries; to wit—his Britannic majeſty, the lord baron Malmeſbury, a peer of the kingdom of Great Britain, privy counſellor, knight of the order of the Bath: his Pruſſian majeſty, the ſieur Chretien Henry Curſe, count de Haugwiz, his miniſter of ſtate, of war, and of the cabinet, knight of the order of the Red Eagle; and their high mightineſſes the States General of the United Provinces, the ſieurs Laurent Pierre Van de Spiegal, counſellor, penſionary of the province of Holland and Weſt Frieſeland, keeper of the ſeals, and deputy of the ſaid province at the aſſembly of the States General, and Henry Fagal, Greffier of their high mightineſſes: who, after having communicated to each other their reſpective full powers, have agreed upon the following articles:

ARTICLE I. His majeſty the king of Pruſſia engages to furniſh an army which ſhall be compoſed of 62,400 men, conformably to the eſtabliſhment which he has cauſed to be delivered to the miniſters of the maritime powers: which eſtabliſhment ſhall be conſidered as making part of the preſent treaty. This army ſhall remain united under a Pruſſian commander, and ſhall act in the moſt effectual manner againſt the common enemy, either ſeparately or jointly, with a body of troops in the pay of the maritime powers, or of one of them. The ſaid army ſhall be and ſhall remain as compleat as poſſible, and ſhall be employed, according to a concert on military points, between his Britannic majeſty, his Pruſſian majeſty, and their high mightineſſes the States General of the United Provinces, wherever it ſhall be judged moſt ſuitable to the intereſt of the maritime powers: this army ſhall arrive at the place of its deſtination on the 24th of May, in the year 1794, or ſooner, if poſſible. It ſhall be provided with field-pieces with their carriages, and alſo with the tents and all military equipments neceſſary for acting in the field.

ARTICLE II. It is agreed by the high contracting parties, that the troops which his Pruſſian majeſty is bound to furniſh to his Britannic majeſty and to their high mightineſſes, by virtue of the reſpective treaties of alliance between his Pruſſian majeſty and the maritime powers, ſhall be comprized in this army of 62,400 men; and that, by employing the ſaid army in the manner declared in this preſent treaty, his Pruſſian majeſty ſhall be deemed to have furniſhed to his high allies the ſuccours ſtipulated in the ſaid treaties.

ARTICLE III. In order to facilitate to his Pruſſian majeſty the means of acting with vigour, and conformably to the ſentiments of zeal and concern with which he is animated for the common cauſe, his Britannic majeſty and their high mightineſſes agree to furniſh to his Pruſſian majeſty a ſubſidy of 50,000l. per month, until the end of the preſent year, and to be reckoned from the beginning of the month in which the preſent treaty is ſigned.

ARTICLE IV. His Britannic majeſty and their high mightineſſes will pay to his Pruſſian majeſty immediately 300,000l. to enable him to defray the charge of compleating the above-mentioned army, and the firſt expences neceſſary for putting it in a ſtate of action, and for carrying it to the place where it is to act; and, at the period of the return of the ſaid troops, his Britannic majeſty and their high mightineſſes will moreover pay to his Pruſſian majeſty the ſum of 100,000l. ſterling for the expences of the return of the army into the territory of his Pruſſian majeſty. The ſaid payment, for the expences of compleating and putting the troops into motion, ſhall be made immediately after the exchange of the ratifications, as well as that of the firſt ſubſidy, to be paid monthly, of 50,000l. The following months ſhall be diſcharged in advance, at the beginning of each month. All theſe payments ſhall be made at Berlin by the maritime powers agreeably to ſuch arrangement as they ſhall agree upon between themſelves—and the pound ſterling ſhall be reckoned at ſix crowns in Frederics d'Or.

ARTICLE V. The above mentioned ſubſidy and payments ſhall ſatisfy all demands which his Pruſſian majeſty might be entitled to make upon the maritime powers for the expences of the army; all theſe expences, of what nature ſoever they may be, being to be defrayed by his Pruſſian majeſty, with the exception only of the expences of bread and forage, which ſhall be furniſhed by the maritime powers, as well for the thirty-five thouſand four hundred men whom his Pruſſian majeſty engages to employ over and above the ſtipulated ſuccours, as for thoſe ſuccours themſelves, in a manner conformable to the terms of the treaties ſubſiſting between the maritime powers and his ſaid majeſty. But in order to avoid the difficulties which might ariſe relative to the furniſhing of theſe articles in kind, the high contracting parties agree that this expence ſhall be ſatisfied in money, reckoning at the rate of one pound twelve ſhillings (ſterling money of England) per month for each man of the ſixty-two thouſand four hundred to be furniſhed by his Pruſſian majeſty, according to the eſtabliſhment herein before mentioned, and the payment of this ſum ſhall be made in advance, at the beginning of each month, in the ſame manner as that of the

ſubſidy, and ſhall begin the ſame day.—But if it ſhall happen in future that any variation ſhall be made by conſent of the high contracting parties, in the reſpective proportions of infantry, cavalry, and artillery, ſettled by the ſaid eſtabliſhment; in ſuch caſe, a new valuation of the aforeſaid pecuniary aid ſhall be made, according to the new proportion of rations and portions which may reſult from the ſaid variation, ſo that the ſaid valuation may not be beyond the actual expences occaſioned by the furniſhing of the articles in queſtion, according to the proportion of men and horſes which ſhall be employed.

ARTICLE VI. It is agreed, that all conqueſts made by this army ſhall be made in the names of the two maritime powers, and ſhall remain at their diſpoſal during the courſe of the war, and at the peace, to be made ſuch uſe of as they ſhall then judge moſt proper.

ARTICLE VII. The two maritime powers ſhall name two perſons commiſſioned to reſide in their names at the head quarters of the Pruſſian army, to keep up the neceſſary communication and correſpondence between the reſpective armies.

ARTICLE VIII. This treaty ſhall continue in its full force until the end of the preſent year one thouſand ſeven hundred and niney-four.

ARTICLE IX. The preſent treaty ſhall be ratified by all parties, and the exchange of the ratifications ſhall be made in the ſpace of one month, or ſooner, if poſſible.

In witneſs of which, we, the plenipotentiaries of his Britannic majeſty, and of his Pruſſian majeſty, and of the lords ſtates general of the United Provinces, by virtue of our reſpective powers, have ſigned the preſent treaty, and have hereunto affixed the ſeal of our arms.

Done at the Hague, the 19th of April, in the year of grace, one thouſand ſeven hundred and ninety-four.

(L. S.) MALMESBURY.
(L. S.) L. P. VAN DE SPIEGEL.
(L. S.) HAUGWIZ.
(L. S.) H. FAGEL.

SEPARATE ARTICLE.

The plenipotentiaries of their high mightineſſes not having thought themſelves empowered to contract, at the preſent moment, any engagements relative to the payment of the ſubſidies ſtipulated in the preſent treaty, beyond the term of the preſent year, this treaty has been concluded only for that term—but their Britannic and Pruſſian majeſties, being deſirous of continuing the effect of the aforeſaid engagements until the end of the war, will enter into further concert as well between themſelves as with their high mightineſſes, for the renewal of the preſent treaty, for ſo long as the war ſhall laſt, on the ſame conditions as are therein declared with reſpect to the troops, to their employment, and to the payment of the aforeſaid ſubſidies, as well as to the furniſhing bread and forage, conformably to Article V. of the treaty—without, however, adding any thing for the expences of compleating the troops, or for thoſe of putting them in motion.

Done at the Hague, the 19th of April, in the year of grace, one thouſand ſeven hundred and ninety-four.

(L. S.) MALMESBURY.
(L. S.) HAUGWIZ.

Copy of the Order of Thanks given out by his Royal Highneſs the Duke of York, to the Troops under his Command, for their Conduct on April 26, 1794.

HIS royal highneſs the commander in chief has the higheſt ſatisfaction in congratulating the army on the glorious ſucceſs of the 26th, on which the enemy uſing every effort in a general attack, conducted in five columns for the relief of Landrecies, was repulſed in all of them with very great ſlaughter, and the loſs of near fifty pieces of cannon. The army under the immediate command of his royal highneſs bore a very conſpicuous part in the ſignal ſucceſs of the day; and his royal highneſs feels it incumbent on him to make his acknowledgments to thoſe brave officers and ſoldiers, to whoſe valour and conduct, under the Divine Direction, this great and important victory is to be aſcribed. To lieutenant-general Otto, to colonel prince of Switzenburg, to whoſe lot it fell to conduct the principal operation of the day, his royal highneſs deſires to offer his beſt thanks, as well as to colonel Vyſe, who, on the misfortune of major-general Manſell, took the command, and ſo gallantly led the charge of the ſecond brigade of Britiſh cavalry. His royal highneſs further deſires it may be made known to the following, that their conduct has been particularly mentioned to him by prince Switzenburg, as highly meritorious:—the Auſtrian regiment of curiaſſiers of Zwitz; the blues; the 1ſt, 3d, and 5th dragoon guards; and the royals.

Archduke Ferdinand's huſſars, and the 16th regiment of light dragoons, who attacked and defeated the principal column of the enemy on the right, have acquired immortal honour to themſelves; nor is the determined gallantry, with which, regardleſs of their numbers, the 7th and 11th light dragoons attacked the enemy on the left, leſs worthy of every commendation.

His royal highneſs requeſts the officers and men of theſe brave corps will accept of his thanks, and he deſires they will be aſſured that he has not failed to repreſent their merit in the ſtrongſt terms to their reſpective ſovereigns. His royal highneſs has, at all times, had the higheſt opinion of the conduct and courage of the Britiſh troops in general, and he truſts the cavalry will be convinced, that whenever they attack with the firmneſs, velocity, and order, ſhewed on this occaſion, no number of the enemy, which we have to contend with, can reſiſt them.

SIR, *Tournay, May 11.*

THE enemy having attacked me yeſterday in different columns, to the number of 30,000 men, I have the ſatisfaction to inform you, that, after a ſharp

a ſharp engagement which laſted five hours, we repulſed them with conſiderable loſs, having taken from them 13 pieces of cannon, and above 400 priſoners.

The attack began at day-break, when the enemy attempted to turn my left flank, but were driven back by the Auſtrian regiment of Kaunitz, which was poſted in a wood to cover us on that ſide. The enemy then directed their efforts againſt my centre, upon which they advanced, under a heavy cannonade, with great reſolution; but a favourable opportunity preſenting itſelf of attacking them on their right flank, which did not ſeem to be protected, lieut. gen. Harcourt was detached for that purpoſe, with 16 ſquadrons of Britiſh cavalry, and two of Auſtrian huſſars. General Harcourt having ſucceeded in gaining their flank, attacked them with ſo much reſolution and intrepidity, that they immediately began to retreat, in the courſe of which they were ſoon broke, and ſuffered conſiderable loſs.

Whilſt this was paſſing in the corps under my particular command, that of the Hanoverians, on my right, was attacked with equal vigour: This, however, was terminated to the advantage of the Hanoverians, who maintained their poſt, and repulſed the enemy with conſiderable loſs. Encloſed I ſend a return of the killed and wounded.

I have many thanks to return to lieut. gen. Harcourt, as well as major gen. Dundas and ſir Robert Lawrie, for the courage and good conduct which they ſhewed on this occaſion. The officers and men of the troops which they led, merit every commendation, having well ſupported the reputation they had already acquired by their conduct on the 26th of laſt month.

I am, &c. &c.

FREDERICK.

Total return of the killed and wounded on the 10th of May.

1 ſtaff officer and 5 officers wounded, 1 ſerjeant killed, 4 wounded. 30 rank and file killed, 73 wounded, 12 miſſing. 90 horſes killed, 108 wounded, 32 miſſing.

Officers wounded.

Major Clinton, aid-de-camp to his royal highneſs the commander in chief.

Blues. Cornet Smith.

6th dragoon guards. Cornet Bond.

2d dragoons. Lieut. Jones.

6th light dragoons. Capt. Hawker, and lieut. Archer.

Tournay, May 13, 1794.

SIR,

SINCE my laſt letter no attempt has been made by the enemy to harraſs or moleſt any of my poſts. On Sunday morning, however, they attacked in great force general Clairfayt's corps, which had the night before croſſed the Heule. The action laſted from one o'clock in the afternoon till eleven o'clock at night, when general Clairfayt ſucceeded in completely driving them back into the town of Courtrai, but, not being able to take poſſeſſion of the place, he retreated firſt acroſs the Heule, afterwards behind the river Mandel; but being ſtill very cloſely purſued by the enemy, he found himſelf under the neceſſity of continuing his march to Thielt, where he has taken up a poſition in order to cover Ghent, Bruges and Oſtend. His loſs, I am ſorry to ſay, has been very conſiderable."

Admiralty-Office, May 16, 1794.

Barrington Bay, (late Grand Cul de Sac) St. Lucia, April 4, 1794.

ON the 29th and 30th of March I directed ſuch troops and artillery as the general thought neceſſary for the reduction of St. Lucia to be embarked on board the ſhips of war and copper-ſheathed tranſports; and on the 31ſt at noon I ſailed with the ſquadrons of his majeſty's ſhips under my command, and the day following landed the light infantry and grenadiers in the following order: Major-general Dundas, with a part of his corps, embarked on board the Solebay, Winchelſea, and London tranſport, about three o'clock, at Ance de Becune, a little within Point du Cap, and one mile and quarter diſtant from Groſs Iſlet.

This ſervice was performed with neatneſs and preciſion under the direction of lord viſcount Garlies, captain Delly being ill of a fever. The other part of major-general Dundas's corps embarked on board the Vengeance, Irreſiſtible and Rattleſnake; were landed in Choc Bay, by ſignal from the Boyne, at five o'clock; and the corps of grenadiers under the command of his royal highneſs prince Edward, (embarked in the Santa Margaritta, Roſe and Woolwich) were landed under the judicious direction of captain Harvey, at Marigot des Roſeaux, before ſunſet; as were the corps of light infantry embarked in the Boyne and Veteran, under the command of colonel Coote, near the Grand Cul de Sac, after the cloſe of the day.

In ranging the coaſt to theſe different points of debarkation the ſhips were obliged to hug the ſhore, and received many ſhots in their hulls yards, ſails and rigging, from the numerous batteries along the coaſt, but happily, though the ſhips were ſo much crowded with men, not a drop of blood was ſpilt.

The grenadiers and light infantry having carried all the out-poſts and batteries the night before laſt, with ſome loſs on the part of the enemy, the general and myſelf thought proper to ſummons the Morne Fortune to ſurrender yeſterday morning, to which an equivocal anſwer being returned, a diſpoſition was made for landing the battalions of ſeamen from the different ſhips, and the terms of ſurrender were inſtantly diſpatched; to which the garriſon has aceeded, and marched out at nine o'clock this morning, grounding their arms at a place appointed for that purpoſe.

The ſame ſpirit of enterpriſe, which inſpired every breaſt in the reduction of Martinique, has ſhone in full luſtre here.

I am much obliged to captain Saliſbury for ſerving a volunteer on board the Boyne upon this ſervice, whoſe critical pilot knowledge has been very uſeful.

To captain Parker, the bearer of this diſpatch (who commanded in theſe ſeas with great reputation previous to my arrival) I beg leave to refer the

the lords commiſſioners of the Admiralty for further particulars."

J. JONES.

Whitehall, May 16.

St. Lucia, April 4, 1794.

SIR,

IN my diſpatch of the 25th ult. I had the happineſs to acquaint you of the ſurrender of Fort Bourbon (now Fort George) and the iſland of Martinico, on that day; and that I would not loſe time to embark troops, ordnance, &c. to proſecute vigorouſly ſuch other objects and ſervices as his majeſty has been pleaſed to entruſt me with the execution of.

I have now the honour to acquaint you with the further ſucceſs of his majeſty's arms in the conqueſt of this fine iſland; the French garriſon under the command of general Ricard, in the works on Morne Fortunee, having marched out and laid down their arms this morning by nine o'clock; at which time his royal highneſs prince Edward, with his brigade of grenadiers, and major-general Dundas, with his brigade of light infantry, marched in and took poſſeſſion.

On the 30th ult. the brigade of grenadiers commanded by his royal highneſs prince Edward; the brigade of light infantry, by major-general Dundas; and the 6th, 9th, and 43d regiments, by colonel ſir Charles Gordon, with engineers, &c. under colonel Durnford, and a detachment of the royal artillery, with ſome light ordnance, under lieutenant colonel Paterſon, embarked on board his majeſty's ſhips in the bay of Fort Royal, having left the tranſports and heavy artillery at Martinico; and alſo left there the 15th, 39th, 56th, 58th, 64th, and 70th regiments, artillery, &c. as a garriſon under lieut. gen. Preſcott, brig. gen. White, and col. Myers; but that day proving very rainy, hazy, and calm, we did not ſail till the 31ſt and reached St. Lucia the 1ſt inſtant.

Every neceſſary matter being previouſly concerted and arranged with the Admiral, we proceeded and effected three different landings with little reſiſtance, and no loſs, viz. major gen. Dundas's diviſion, conſiſting of the 3d battalion light infantry, under lieut. col. Cloſe, and conducted by captan Kelly and lord Garlies, of the navy, at Ance Du Cap; and the 2d light infantry, under lieut. colonel Blundell, conducted by commodore Thompſon, at Ance Du Choc, who who were ordered to join, taking the enemy's batteries in reverſe, and to occupy a near poſition for the purpoſe of inveſting the works of Morne Fortunee, on the ſide of Carenage, which was executed with the uſual ſpirit and ability of that major general, and the flank battalions.

His royal highneſs prince Edward's diviſion, 1ſt and 3d grenadiers, diſembarked at Marigot des Roſeaux, immediately under the admiral's own direction, aſſiſted by captain Hervey, and immediately proceeded to co-operate with major gen. Dundas, to inveſt Morne Fortunee. Lieut. col. Coote, with the 1ſt battalion of light infantry, did not diſembark till 7 o'clock the ſame evening from the Boyne, and landed at Ance de la Tocque, proceeded to, and took the four gun battery of Ciceron, inveſting Morne Fortunee on that ſide, at the ſame time covering Cul de Sac, or Barrington Bay for our ſhipping, which anchored there next morning, the 2d inſt. The 2d grenadiers, and colonel ſir Charles Gordon's brigade (the 6th, 9th, and 43d regiments) were kept in reſerve on board ſhip. About 7 o'clock in the evening of the 2d inſtant, lieut. col. Coote, with 4 light companies, ſtormed a redoubt and two batteries by my order, cloſe to the enemy's principal work on the Morne, killed two officers and near 30 men, made one priſoner, and releaſed one Britiſh ſailor from captivity, ſpiking ſix pieces of cannon.

The ability and meritorious conduct of that excellent officer, col. Coote, on this enterprize, are ſuch as do him the higheſt honour, and cannot be ſurpaſſed, in which he was ſo well ſupported by the whole detachment, particularly by major Evatt, captains Buchanan, Croſbie, Walſh, J. Grey, aide-du-camp to the commander in chief, and Stobin; and by major of brigade Viſſcher, with lieut. Drozier, and the detachment of royal artillery, who ſpiked the guns.

The exemplary good conduct of the brigade of grenadiers under the immediate command of his royal highneſs prince Edward, and of light infantry, under major general Dundas, and, indeed, of all the troops, afford me the higheſt ſatisfaction.

When his royal highneſs prince Edward had hoiſted the Britiſh colours on Morne Fortunee, the name of it was changed to Fort Charlotte; and the entire conqueſt of this iſland has been effected without the loſs of a man, although there has been a good deal of cannonading from the enemy's batteries and works.

I tranſmit the colours, to be preſented to his majeſty. Captain Finch Maſon, one of my aides-de-camps, will have the honour of preſenting this diſpatch, being an officer well qualified to give any further information that you may deſire to receive.

I tranſmit herewith a general return of ordnance and ſtores found in the fort of Morne Fortunee, and alſo a general return of the batteries on the coaſt of St. Lucia.

CHARLES GREY.

[The gazette concludes with a return of ſtores, &c. found in Morne Fortunee, &c. among which were a number of pieces of ordnance, from 36 to 4 pounders, ſeveral mortars, howitzers, &c.]

SIR, *Tournay, May* 16, 1794.

WHEN I ſent my laſt letter the enemy had ſucceeded in forcing the paſſage of the Sambre, and had conſequently obliged general Kaunitz to retreat, and to take up a poſition between Rouſcroy and Binch, in order to cover Mons, in which, the French having attacked him the day before yeſterday, he had the good fortune to repulſe them completely, and to drive them beyond the Sambre. The enemy's loſs is computed at five thouſand men, and three pieces of cannon.

This ſucceſs having perfectly ſecured that part of the country, his Imperial majeſty immediately determined to march to my aſſiſtance, and he arrived

rived here yeſterday himſelf, leaving his brother, the arch duke Charles, to conduct his army to Orchies. FREDERICK.

SIR, *Tournay, May 19, 1794.*

IN my laſt letter I mentioned to you his imperial majeſty's intention of making a general attack with his whole force, in order, by a joint, co-operation with the troops under the command of general Clairfayt, to compel the enemy to evacuate Flanders.

On the 16th at night the army moved forward, for this purpoſe in five columns.

The two columns on the left were intended to force the paſſages of the Marque, and, by a vigorous attack on the enemy's poſts along the river, to cover the operations of the three remaining columns: theſe were deſtined to force the enemy's poſts by Roubaix, Waterloo and Moucron, thus to favour general Clairfayt's paſſage of the Lys, and then, by a junction with his corps, to have cut off the communication between Liſle and Courtray.

Unfortunately the two columns on the left forced the paſſage of the Marque ſo late, and were ſo much fatigued by the length of their march, that they were not able to accompliſh the remainder of the propoſed plan, while the column on the right under general Buſche, finding the enemy at Moucron in much greater numbers than had been expected, was under the neceſſity of relinquiſhing its attack, and of retreating to his former poſition at Warcoing.

Lieut. gen. Otto proceeded with his column through Leers to Waterloo, from whence, after ſome reſiſtance, he drove the enemy and puſhed on to Tourcoing.

My column conſiſted of ſeven battalions of Britiſh, five of Auſtrians, and two of Heſſians, with ſix ſquadrons of light dragoons, and four of huſſars. We moved forward from Templeuve to Lannoy, which we forced the enemy to evacuate, after a ſhort cannonade, in which I had the misfortune to loſe major Wright, of the royal artillery, a brave and deſerving officer.

Having left the two Heſſian battalions at Lannoy, I proceeded to Roubaix, where we found the enemy in great ſtrength both of men and cannon. The reſiſtance was proportionably ſtronger, but equally unavailing, as the enemy ſoon found themſelves compelled to retire, which they did towards Moucron.

Having at this time no intelligence of the two columns on my right and left, notwithſtanding I had made every effort to obtain it, I did not think it prudent to advance any further, but was reſolved to have left my advanced guard, under the command of lieut. gen. Abercromby, at Roubaix, and with the remainder of my corps to have taken a poſition on the heights behind Lannoy.

The orders for this purpoſe were given, but having acquainted his Imperial majeſty, who had advanced to Lannoy, with my intention, the neceſſity of co-operating with general Clairfayt induced his majeſty to direct that I ſhould proceed to the attack at Mouveaux.

I accordingly directed the attack to be made by lieut. gen. Abercromby with the four battalions of guards. He found the enemy ſtrongly intrenched, but having cannonaded it for ſome time, the good countenance of the flank battalion of guards, who advanced to ſtorm it with the utmoſt order, ſupported by the firſt battalion, and ſeconded by the 7th and 15th light dragoons, under lieut. col. Churchill, compelled the enemy to retire, with the loſs of three pieces of cannon and of a conſiderable number of men, who were cut down by the light dragoons, in the purſuit, which was continued as far as Bouderes.

Upon maturely conſidering of the nature of our ſituation, I directed lieut. gen. Abercromby to remain at Mouveaux with the four battalions of guards; and having poſted four Auſtrian battalions to cover Rouboix, I detached the ſecond brigade of Britiſh infantry, under the command of major gen. Fox, to take poſt on my left, on the great road leading from Liſle to Roubaix. The cavalry was divided with ſeveral corps, for the purpoſe of patroling, the nature of the country not admitting of their being of any other uſe. My advanced poſts communicated with thoſe of gen. Otto, on my right, who I now found had got poſſeſſion of Turcoing.

Early the next morning the enemy attacked the poſt of Turcoing in great force, and I received an application from col. Devay, who commanded there, to make a diverſion in his favour; for which purpoſe I ſent two battalions of Auſtrians, giving them expreſs directions, if they ſhould be preſſed, to fall back upon me, but, by ſome miſtake, inſtead of doing ſo, they joined col. Devay. From this circumſtance, an opening was left on my right, of which the enemy availed himſelf in the attack upon my corps, which took place ſoon after, and by ſo doing, obliged me to employ the only battalion I had left, to ſecure a point which was of the utmoſt conſequence to us.

At this period a very conſiderable column of the enemy, which we have ſince learnt amounted to 15000 men, appeared advancing from Liſle, whilſt another corps, having forced its way through general Otto's poſition by Waterloo, attacked us on the rear. The few troops that remained with me ſoon gave way before ſuch ſuperior numbers, nor was it in my power, with every effort I could uſe, aſſiſted by thoſe of the officers who were about me, to rally them. At that moment the advanced parties of the column from Liſle, ſhewed themſelves alſo upon the road between Roubaix and Mouveaux, and I found it impoſſible to ſucceed in the attempt which I made to join the brigade of guards.

Thus circumſtanced, I turned my attention to join general Fox's brigade, but upon proceeding to Roubaix for that purpoſe, I found it in the poſſeſſion of the enemy.

Thus completely cut off from every part of my corps—nothing remained for me to do, but to force my way to that of general Otto, and to concert meaſures with him to free my own troops.

This

This I effected, accompanied by a few dragoons of the 16th regiment, with great difficulty; but the project of marching upon Lannoy, to which gen. Otto had conſented, as a meaſure which would greatly facilitate the retreat of my corps, being given up, upon finding that the Heſſians had been obliged to abandon that place, I found myſelf under the painful neceſſity of continuing with general Otto's column the remainder of the day.

Previous to this, I had ſent orders to gen. Abercromby to retire from Mouveaux to the heights behind Roubaix, where it was my intention to have aſſembled my corps; and the coldſtream battalion had been poſted to cover the communication till he effected his retreat.

In conſequence of theſe directions, gen. Abercromby began his retreat, and on his arrival upon the heights at Roubaix finding himſelf ſurrounded upon all ſides without a poſſibility of aſſembling the corps, he determined to continue it to Lannoy. This he effected amidſt the repeated attacks of the enemy, who poured upon him from all parts. Gen. Abercromby found Lannoy alſo in the poſſeſſion of the enemy, but he avoided the town by marching round it under a very heavy fire, and ſoon after reached Templeuve.

Major gen. Fox, after ſuſtaining with great reſolution, a very vigorous attack from the principal part of the column which came from Liſle, began his retreat alſo, and finding himſelf cut off from the brigade of guards, and Lannoy occupied by the enemy, he directed his march upon the village of Leers—at which place he joined the column of lieut. gen. Otto.

I incloſe you a return of our loſs upon this occaſion—I regret that it is ſo great, but when the nature of the action is conſidered, and that it was conducted in a country the moſt favourable to the views of the enemy that they could have wiſhed for, while their perfect knowledge of theſe parts enabled them to take every advantage of it, it might have been expected to have been ſtill more conſiderable. From the badneſs of the roads, the loſs of the horſes, and the timidity of the drivers, the leaving part of our artillery became inevitable.

I am to deſire that you will aſſure his majeſty, that the officers and men ſhewed all the firmneſs and reſolution on this occaſion that could be expected from them; and it would be an injuſtice done to the reſt to diſtinguiſh any particular corps. The abilities and coolneſs with which lieut. gen. Abercromby and major-gen. Fox conducted their different corps under theſe trying circumſtances require however, that I ſhould particularly notice them.

It is a peculiar conſolation to me that the column under my command executed to the full extent their intended part of the operation; and that in the check which they afterwards ſuſtained, the conduct of the Britiſh troops has entitled them to the warmeſt expreſſions of gratitude and admiration on the part of his Imperial majeſty.

I am, &c. &c.

FREDERICK.

Return of the killed, wounded and miſſing on the 17th and 18th of May, 1794.

Total. 1 ſurgeon, 4 ſerjeants, and 53 rank and file killed; 10 officers, one quarter-maſter, 1 ſurgeon's-mate, 8 ſerjeants, 1 drummer and 185 rank and file wounded; 4 officers, 17 ſerjeants, 9 drummers, and 538 rank and file miſſing—47 horſes killed, 32 horſes wounded, 117 horſes miſſing.

Officers killed, wounded and miſſing.

Artillery. Major Wright, wounded, ſince dead; lieut. Boger, wounded; lieut. Downman, miſſing.

Flank battalion of the guards. Lieut. col. Ludlow, lieut. col. Manners, capt. Drummond, wounded.

14th foot. Major Brown, wounded and miſſing.

37th foot. Lieut. Murray, lieut. Cunningham, wounded; captain Cook, lieut. M'Kenzie, miſſing.

53d foot. Major Scott, capt. Briſbane, enſign Pierce, wounded; lieut. Rynd, miſſing.

15th light dragoons. Surgeon Bradley, killed, ſurgeon's mate wounded.

J. H. CRAIG,
Adjutant general.

The duke of York eſcaped being made priſoner in the following manner:—Being entirely ſurrounded by the enemy, his royal highneſs found that flight alone could ſecure his ſafety; in company only with one Auſtrian gen. and two other gentlemen, he reached a village which had been taken the preceding day from the enemy. They were riding in full gallop, when turning one of the ſtreets, they diſcovered that the village was in the hands of the French, and a column of the enemy facing them—the latter ſuppoſing the duke was heading a body of troops, fired a volley at them, which killed the Auſtrian general on the duke's ſide. Recovering, however, from their error, the French purſued the duke and his two companions, 'till they came near a river. The duke threw himſelf off his horſe, and ſo did the other gentleman, and waded through the river—the third took the water with his horſe. All this was done under the fire of the French, who had brought a ſix pounder to bear on them. On the other ſide of the river, the duke fortunately met a led horſe of captain Murray's, which he mounted, and thus arrived in ſafety at Tournay.

In the other parts of this day, the duke, and indeed, all the officers and ſoldiers were much expoſed. The duke's ſecretary had his hat ſhot through, and an orderly ſerjeant, cloſe to the duke, was killed.

Bruſſels, May 22. A meſſenger has juſt brought an account that general baron de Beaulieu, having marched into the dutchy of Bouillon on the 18th inſtant, defeated a conſiderable body of French, who covered that canton; and having killed twelve hundred, taken between two and three hundred priſooners, ſix pieces of cannon, and ſeveral caiſſons, he took poſſeſſion of the town of Bouillon, and ſummoned the citadel to ſurrender, wich was refuſed.

The inhabitants having fired upon the Auſtrians,

rians, the town was *given up to be pillaged.*

Tournay, May 23, 1794.

SIR,

I HAVE the satisfaction to acquaint you, for his majesty's information, that yesterday morning the enemy, having made an attack upon the combined army under the command of his Imperial majesty, were repulsed, after a long and obstinate engagement.

The attack began at five o'clock, but did not appear to be serious till towards nine, when the whole force of the enemy (consisting, according to every account, of upwards of one hundred thousand men) was brought against the right wing, with the intention of forcing, if possible, the passage of the Scheldt, in order to invest Tournay.

At first they drove in the out-posts, and obliged general Busche's corps, which was posted at Espierres, to fall back upon the main army; but upon succour being sent, general Walmoden, who, though very unwell, had retaken the command of the Hanoverians, maintained his position. The enemy, by constantly bringing up fresh troops, were enabled to continue the attack, without intermission, till nine o'clock at night.

The troops of the right wing being greatly fatigued, it became necessary to support them from my wing; for which purpose, besides seven Austrian battalions, I detached the second brigade of British, under the command of major-general Fox. Nothing could exceed the spirit and gallantry with which they conducted themselves, particularly in the storm of the village of Pontechin, which they forced with the bayonet. The enemy immediately began to retreat, and during the night withdrew all their posts; and, according to every information, have fallen back upon Lisle.

Seven pieces of cannon and above 500 prisoners have fallen into our hands, and the enemy's loss, in killed and wounded, is said to amount to little short of twelve thousand men, which is by no means improbable, as they were exposed to an incessant fire of cannon and musquetry for upwards of twelve hours.

The manner in which general Fox conducted the brigade of British infantry of the line merits my warmest approbation.

Enclosed I send the returns of the killed and wounded of the British.

I am, &c. FREDERICK.

Total return of the Killed, Wounded, and Missing, on the 24th of May, 1794.

7 Officers wounded; 2 serjeants killed; 7 ditto wounded.—11 Rank and file killed; 77 ditto wounded; 19 do. missing.—1 Horse wounded.

Officers wounded.—14th Regiment, major of brigade Cockran.—37th Regiment, captain Spread; lieutenants Mitchell and M'Clean.—53d Regiment, lieutenants Rogers and Robertson, and ensign Pearce.

Victory, off Bastia, April 25, 1794.

BASTIA still holds out, although our batteries have had a powerful effect. A surgeon, who came out of the town, reports the enemy to have lost a great number of men, and that there were then in the hospital near three hundred. Our loss has been inconsiderable, as the enclosed returns will shew.

The return of troops killed and wounded since landing at Pietra Nera, amounts but to 2 killed, and 12 wounded.

The total of killed and wounded seamen on board the Victory, Windsor Castle, Fortitude, and Agamemnon, between the 4th and 25th of April, are but 2 killed, and 9 wounded.

HOOD.

A letter from the duke of York, dated *Tournay, May* 26, 1794. Gives an account that gen. count Kaunitz had on the 24th attacked the French army that had passed the Sambre, and drove them back over that river, with the loss of above 5000 men (3000 of whom are prisoners) and near 50 pieces of cannon.

Also that gen. Beaulieu had been driven from Arlon, and had fallen back to cover Namur.

Another letter, dated *Tournay, May* 30, 1794, brought advice that field marshall Mollendorff had on the 23d surprized the French camp at Kaysers Lautern, killed above 1000, took 2000 prisoners, 18 cannon and all the camp equipage.

The gazette of the 7th of June gave a circumstantial detail of the action between the Audacious of 74 guns, capt. William Parker, and the rear of the French fleet, and beat off the Revolutionare of 110 guns, and escaped after a dreadful conflict.

BRITISH INTELLIGENCE.

LONDON, *June* 21, 1794.

LAW REPORT.

Drummond v. Dery.

Court of King's Bench. This was an action brought by the plaintiff against the defendant for the recovery of 500l. for money lost, or alledged to be lost, by insuring in the lottery. The opening of this case, and a short examination of one witness, on behalf of the plaintiff, presented to his Lordship the true complexion of the business, who immediately stopped the cause, upon that established and equitable rule of law—that no man ought to take advantage of his own wrong.

His Lordship therefore directed the plaintiff to be non-suited, declaring that it was too much for a man to come into a court of justice to seek the wages of iniquity.

A similar decision was made by the present Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas, where the creditors of a bankrupt (who had squandered away all their property) gave him his certificate, that he might be a competent witness

for the purpoſe of recovering back the money which he had loſt by inſuring in the lottery. In this caſe, his Lordſhip reprobated the conduct of the aſſignees and creditors, and very juſtly ſo, becauſe the bankrupt was in fact ſwearing for himſelf; for had his aſſignees ſucceeded in the attempt, he would be entitled to an allowance of ten, twelve, or fifteen per cent. out of all the money ſo recovered. In this caſe, his Lordſhip very judiciouſly enquired how much money the bankrupt had won.

It is rather aſtoniſhing that, conſidering the law has been ſo long ſettled upon this ſubject, that any attorney can at this day be ignorant enough to bring a ſimilar action, for it was ſolemnly determ ned by Lord Loughborough and the reſt of the judges of the court of Common Pleas, that inſuring in a lottery is not within the purview of any of the ſtatutes reſpecting gaming. Which determination of the court of Common Pleas was afterwards confirmed by a ſimilar deciſion in the court of Chancery.

DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE.

Kilkenny, June 1, 1794.

A MAN of the name of *Mara*, and his wife, were both found murdered in their cabin at Moneenroe. Mr. Gore, one of the co. coroners, attended and held an inqueſt on the bodies, when, after a long examination, it appeared that the murder was committed by a lunatic who lived in the neighbourhood. The coroner immediately took him into cuſtody, and committed him to the county gaol.

The deceaſed were each upwards of eighty years old, and for a long time had been ſupported by the charity of their neighbours.

A pig, a hen and chickens, (the only property the poor creatures poſſeſſed) were alſo killed.

4.] A cabin near Corofin, in which a poor woman and her ſon (a young man of about 18 years of age) lived, was burned to aſhes, together with the unfortunate inhabitants.

5.] A grampus was taken alive near Shannongrove, by ſome labouring men in the employ of Mr. Thomas Hill; it meaſured 16½ feet in length, the breadth of the tail was 4½, the body as groſs as that of a horſe; it is ſuppoſed to be the fiſh which had been fired at in Limerick the week before laſt, as it had two ſhots through the body.

Carlingford, June 16.] A woman, through a fatal curioſity to examine the contents of a caſk which contained gun-powder, and was concealed in a garden near where ſhe lived, unfortunately thruſt a heated poker into it, by which ſhe was inſtantly blown to atoms—ſmall pieces of her body having been found at a conſiderable diſtance from the place where the accident happened!—Four houſes were alſo deſtroyed, and moſt of the windows of the town broken by the exploſion.

DUBLIN.

Court of King's Bench, May 28, 1794. The king againſt M'Cabe and others, publiſhers and proprietors of a newſpaper, called the Northern Star.

This was an information *ex officio*, filed by the Attorney General againſt William M'Cabe, William Tennant, William Magee, R. Callwell, John Boyle, John Haſlet, Henry Haſlet, Samuel Nelſon, Robert Sims, William Sims, Gilbert Macleveene, John Tiſdall, as the proprietors of the ſaid newſpaper, and John Rhab, as printer and publiſher thereof—in which, on the 15th of December, 1792, a falſe, ſcandalous, and ſeditious libel was publiſhed.

The following ſpecial jury of the county Antrim was ſworn:

Thomas Morres Jones, Foreman.

J. H. More,	Jackſon Clarke,
Sampſon More,	Hen. Clem. Ellis,
Langford Hyland,	Alex. Magawley,
Francis Shaw,	Geo. Steuart,
Stafford Gorman,	Edm. Mackledowney.
Robert Gage,	

Counſellor Ruxton opened the proſecution.

The Attorney General entered with ability and preciſion into the matter of the charge. He obſerved, that the proprietors in this caſe were as much involved in the guilt of the publication as the actual printers and publiſhers were. They were the kind of perſons who came within the exact purview of the act of parliament, for ſecuring the liberty of the preſs in this country.

The proprietors in this caſe were men of all others the moſt unlikely to have any concern with the conduct of a printing preſs; it was a matter totally out of their line of buſineſs—they were principally tanners, clothiers, and other mechanics, who went into the concern purely from a view to effect political reforms, of the tendency and conſequences of which they were totally ignorant—but their intention was obviouſly to create public diſturbance in this country.

Here the learned Attorney went into a retroſpective hiſtory of the conduct of clubs, ſocieties, and conventions in this country, from the commencement of the French revolution, and developed from them a regularly concerted plan for overturning the conſtituted authorities of the realm, and erecting in its ſtead a deſtructive democracy.

For this purpoſe the preſs, which at all other times was the guardian of our liberties, was perverted to the purpoſe of ſedition and treaſon; one newſpaper was ſet up in the metropolis, and another at Belfaſt, for the avowed purpoſe of exciting revolution.

One ſociety in the metropolis called the people to arms, and embodied a regiment called the *National Guards*, and they in Belfaſt aſſumed the French appellation of *Jacobins*, and openly avowed their object to be the imitation of the French democracy.

Here Mr. Attorney read the publications, which contained a long ſtring of reſolutions, ſtating,

ſtating, that there exiſted no national government in this country; that parliament was controuled by Britiſh influence and Britiſh intereſt, was not a repreſentation of the people, but that a majority of the members were returned by 90 individuals; that nothing was to ſave this country but a radical reform of parliament, by imparting the elective franchiſe to the whole body of people, and, that to effect this, the people of England, Scotland, and Ireland were to be invited to turn their thoughts towards a national convention. It repreſented the catholics of this country as reduced below the ſtate of African ſlaves, to the reproach of a conſtitution falſely denominated true; and it concluded with a ſolemn reſolution, never to leave off exerting individually and collectively every means in their power to effect theſe purpoſes, imprecating, that the great Author of Nature might renounce them, if ever they relinquiſhed their object.

He did not aſſume to deny the right which every Britiſh ſubject enjoyed of calmly and diſpaſſionately diſcuſſing the nature of government, or of proceeding by peaceable and legal means to obtain, after a conſtitutional manner, a reform of any thing which they conceived to be wrong: but was an open and flagitious libel on the conſtitution itſelf to be conſidered as that ſpecies of cool and diſpaſſionate diſcuſſion?—was an attempt to throw the people into open diſcontents and tumults, an open libel on the purity of parliament, an open diſavowal of the authority, and a direct attack on the integrity of government, and an undiſguiſed declaration of an intent to overturn the preſent conſtitution, things to be tolerated with impunity under any rational idea of conſtitutional liberty. Such was the preſent libel—ſuch were the obvious intentions of the defendants, and therefore he truſted the jury, as the guardians of the peace of the country, and of the liberty of the ſubject, would exert that diſcretion which the law had placed in their hands to the preſervation of both, from abuſe and violation.

Two witneſſes were produced for the proſecution.

The firſt was Rowland Jackſon O'Connor, eſq. diſtributor of ſtamps for the county Antrim.

Some difficulties were ſtarted by the defendant's counſel, Mr. Stuart, as to the identity of his appointment, as moſt of the ſtamp commiſſioners under whom he was appointed were defunct.

But Mr. ſec. Lees proved the hand-writing of the commiſſioners, and alſo that of the lord lieutenant and privy council in the patent appointing thoſe commiſſioners.

Mr. O'Connor then proved the affidavit of proprietorſhip, ſigned by the parties themſelves, and ſworn to in his preſence on the 20th of Feb. 1792, and to another affidavit by ſome of the ſame proprietors on the 17th of Auguſt, 1793, which was ten months after the libel appeared.

The next witneſs was James M'Connell, and he proved that he had purchaſed the newſpaper produced in court, at the ſhop of Mr Rhab, which is the office of the Northern Star in Belfaſt, on the very day the libel appeared.

He had purchaſed at the office at ſucceſſive times 122 papers, by order of the hon. Chicheſter Skeffington, and had written his name on each of them at the time of purchaſing them.

He proved alſo, that he had frequently paid bills to Mr. Rhab for yearly ſubſcriptions for the paper, and he produced a receipt for 16s. 3d. dated the 1ſt of March, 1793, which was for the amount of one year's papers, ending the 1ſt of Jan. preceding, and ſigned—"For the proprietors, J. Rhab."

Evidence for the proſecution here cloſed.

Mr. Curran ſubmitted to the court, that no part of the evidence was competent to ſubſtantiate charge againſt any of the firſt twelve perſons named in the information, and he therefore hoped, that their names would be ſent up to the jury with a charge for their acquittal, in order that his client, Mr. Rhab, might be allowed the benefit of their teſtimony, if he ſhould be adviſed by his counſel to avail himſelf thereof.

Mr. Solicitor General argued that the proprietors in this caſe came directly within the purview of the act for ſecuring the liberty of the preſs.

The act now in queſtion was calculated to obviate miſchievous grievances—by obliging the printers and proprietors of all newſpapers to regiſter their names on oath with the commiſſioners of ſtamps.

The affidavits of the defendants which the law made concluſive evidence againſt them, proved and admitted their proprietorſhip, and there had not been a *ſcintilla* of evidence to the contrary; he therefore contended ſtrongly for the principle.

Mr. Prime Serjeant and Mr. Frankland argued to the ſame purpoſe—while

Mr. Curran for the defendants, contended for the contrary. He denied it to be conſiſtent with the principles of law that the proprietors ſhould be criminally reſponſible for the conduct of their publiſher, where there was no proof whatever of their commanding or taking any direct interference in the act of publication. The principle of law on the point he aſſerted to be—that the maſter ſhall be reſponſible for the acts of his ſervant *civiliter*, but not *criminaliter*. If the principle of the law were otherwiſe, his own footman, he obſerved, might at that moment be employed in the commiſſion of acts that might ſubject him to twenty criminal proſecutions. He ſuppoſed the caſe of a company of merchants, equipping a veſſel at their joint expence; and if the captain whom they employed, inſtead of proceeding on his voyage, converted the ſhip to purpoſes of piracy or high treaſon, was it reaſonable to ſuppoſe his owners, who knew nothing of the matter, ſhould become legally involved in his guilt, and liable to a criminal proſecution?—Again, one or more of the proprietors of the Northern Star might be abſent on a voyage to the Eaſt Indies—would it be a juſt or a legal thing to hold thoſe men, to ſubject them to a criminal proſecution for a libel appearing in the paper during their abſence, in which they could not be ſuppoſed to have any controul whatever. The trade of the printer was like any other trade, in which it would be extremely cruel to involve a man

who had ventured his property on a mere ſpeculation of profit and loſs, in the conſequence of a criminal act committed without his knowledge or privity in any ſhape.

Mr. Dobbs, Mr. Stuart, Mr. Dunn, and Mr. Sampſon, on the ſame ſide, offered many ingenious arguments to the ſame points. They alſo contended, that even if the proprietorſhip ſubjected the parties to a participation in the guilt of publiſhing, it was not proved to have exiſted on the day when the identical libel was publiſhed, for the proof of its exiſtence on two ſeveral periods widely diſtant, was not ſufficient to eſtabliſh the proprietorſhip in all the intermediate period.

Lord Clonmel was clearly of the ſame opinion on theſe points. His lordſhip would declare no opinion, whether the proprietorſhip did or did not involve a man in the criminal reſponſibility of his printer and publiſher, that muſt depend on the nature of the caſe; there might be a very innocent publiſher and a guilty proprietor; but as the law in this preſent caſe was a criminal ſtature, he thought it his duty to conſtrue it ſtrictly, more eſpecially as that part which was mandatory on the printers and proprietors of newſpapers to ſwear to certain facts, and regiſter the affidavits, to ſtand in future as records againſt themſelves, was contrary to common law, which ſays, "no man ſhall be obliged to give evidence to his own crimination." His lordſhip therefore charged the jury to acquit the proprietors, as no evidence whatever of publication appeared againſt them. In the caſe of the king againſt Topham, reported in Durnford and Eaſt, and cited by the Attorney General, his lodſhip obſerved, that there it appeared the proprietor had taken a very active part in the publication.

The jury accordingly acquitted the 12 proprietors, when

Counſellor Dobbs, on behalf of Mr. Rhab, far from wiſhing to go into evidence in the defence, avowed, on behalf of his client, the publication, and profeſſed to glory in the principle of the matter alledged to be libellous, which he defended very warmly in a long and animated ſpeech.

[In the courſe of this ſpeech Mr, Dobbs was frequently called to order by the court.]

Mr. Primo Serjeant had the laſt word for the crown, and drew a picture of the nature and obvious tendency of the libel to anarchy and confuſion.

Earl Clonmel then proceeded to charge the jury.

His lordſhip declared that the libel in queſtion was the moſt miſchievous, ſeditious, and flagitious production he ever had the misfortune to read. It was impoſſible for a child to miſtake its object, and the defendant, inſtead of ſhewing any thing like contrition for his conduct, had added *impudence* to *guilt*, and not only avowed, but gloried in his guilt.

Mr. juſtice Downes perfectly concurred with lord Clonmel—and the jury after retiring for a ſhort time, returned with a verdict—GUILTY.

At ten at night the court adjourned.

Mr. Rhab was not in cuſtody—he ſtands out on his recognizance.

30.] M'Dermott was brought up to the court of king's bench, when the Attorney General moved, that judgment ſhould be pronounced on him. Counſellor M'Nally thereupon, on the part of the priſoner, moved the writ of certiorari, with the return thereon, might be read, which the court, after hearing the Attorney General, refuſed.

Counſellor Butler, on behalf of the priſoner, then moved that the indictment ſhould be read. The indictment, containing nine counts, was accordingly read, and the verdict found thereon, by which it appeared that M'Dermott had been acquitted of all the counts in the indictment, ſave the account laid for ſtealing from the dwelling-houſe of Mr. Tenniſon a gun, of the value of 5l.—Mr. Butler then addreſſed the court in a very forcible manner. He ſaid, he relied that if what he offered did not induce the court to arreſt the judgment, that it would at leaſt ſuſpend it; that the evidence on the trial, of which their lordſhips had judical knowledge, did not ſupport or correſpond with the only count in the indictment on which M'Dermott had been found guilty; that the charge in the indictment againſt which alone the priſoner on the trial was bound by law to be prepared to defend himſelf, was that ſpecies of larceny, which was, in law, denominated ſtealing, which was defined to be a fraudulent and ſecret taking without force; and the evidence brought forward againſt the priſoner on the trial was, that he had forcibly entered, and taken from the dwelling-houſe, a gun of a certain value.

Mr. Butler was here prevented from going further.

The Attorney General ſaid, that what Mr. Butler advanced tended to impeach the verdict of the jury. That Mr. Butler could not reſort to the evidence in a motion to arreſt the judgment; and though what he urged might be intended to ſhew that mercy ought to be extended to the priſoner, yet it might alſo impreſs the public mind that the priſoner had not a fair trial; and therefore he thought it not the moſt prudent way to uſe on the priſoners behalf, to obtain that mercy for him which muſt be the object of his counſel. It would be more prudent and proper to lay the matter urged before the executive power, by way of memorial, the court having concurred in this idea, and having alſo mentioned that the recommendation made by the jury who tried the priſoner, of his being an object for royal mercy, had been lately laid before government.

Mr. Butler ſaid, after what had fallen from the court, and the Attorney General, he thought it would be imprudent to urge his argument further, but to leave the priſoner to the mercy of his ſovereign. Sentence of death was therefore pronounced.

June 2. Darby Walſh, and George Mayton, were tried before Mr. Day, at Kilmainham, for the robbery of Mr. Gordon, of Fairview, on the 26th of April laſt. Walſh was capitally convicted—Mayton was acquitted as his perſon was not ſatisfactorily identified.

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In the courſe of the evidence it appeared, that Walſh had entered a room with two of his aſſociates, where Mr. Gordon was ſhaving. Mr. Gordon ſaid he had no money in the houſe, and they demanded his plate; two of them went to ſearch the houſe—Walſh remained in the room, and perceiving a plate cup on the table, put it in his boſom. Mr. Graham, who lives next door to Mr. Gordon, hearing the noiſe, went with his ſervant to Mr. Gordon's aſſiſtance—juſt as he approached the door the fellows ruſhed out. The priſoner happened to be the laſt, and Mr. Graham knocked him down with an iron bar. The cup on his getting up fell out of his boſom. He was apprehended on the ſpot, taken before a magiſtrate, and committed to Kilmainham gaol. He appears to be near forty years of age, about ſix feet three inches high, and a very fine perſon.

Thurſday came on, in the ſame court, the trial of Owen Carberry, gardener and confidential ſervant of the ſame Mr. Gordon, for being an acceſſary in the fact in the above robbery. The conviction of Walſh as principal was read pro forma, after which the wife of Walſh was produced—ſhe depoſed, that ſhe lived in a cellar, at No. 19, Dirty-lane, and that on the day after the robbery, a perſon of the name of Toole and another of the name of Tierney two of the robbers as ſhe ſuppoſed, called at her cellar, and brought her to a tap-room over the cellar. There ſhe met the priſoner at the bar, two other men, and the wives of Toole and Tierney. Tierney told her of her huſband's having been taken and ſent to Kilmainham. She heard the priſoner claim his ſhare of the booty. He ſaid it was by his means they got it, and that if they had followed his advice they would have got more—for he was going for three pounds for his maſter, and bid them not attempt the robbery till he returned. He ſaid there was more plate in the bottom part of the preſs, and a bread baſket; he alſo blamed them for not tying the family, or locking them up in a room to prevent an alarm. Toole and Tierney ſaid he had a right to his part, as he had ventured his place and neck; and that of the trifle they got he ſhould have his ſhare when it was made into money, but that the remainder ſhould not be touched till they ſaw what became of the priſoner, Walſh. About a week ſince ſhe ſaid ſhe had been brought to Newgate by Mr. Gordon, and Mr. Bell, where ſhe ſaw and identified the priſoner among a crowd of men. She was croſs-examined on behalf of the priſoner, but nothing appeared in his favour.

The next witneſs was Mr. Gordon, who proved that the priſoner had been his confidential ſervant for two years. That the night of the robbery he had ſent him to a tenant in Philipſburgh, about a quarter of a mile from his houſe for three pounds—that he did not return till after the robbery, comprehending an interval of about two hours. Mr. Gordon admitted, during the time the priſoner ſerved him, he never had reaſon to ſuſpect his conduct before this affair.

The next witneſs was Mr. John Bell, of Philipſburgh. He ſaid, having heard from a magiſtrate that Walſh had made ſome diſcoveries, in which the priſoner was implicated, he undertook to have him apprehended; accordingly, on the ſame evening, accompanied by Mr. Jolly, a gentleman who lives in his neighbourhood, he went to the priſoner's cabin in Philipſburgh, about half paſt nine, he rapped at the door, and inquired if Owen was at home. He was anſwered by a woman who ſaid that he worked at Fairview, and was not yet come home. On obſerving he could not be at work to that hour, he was anſwered he had gone to Dublin. He deſired her to open the door which ſhe refuſed. Witneſs then ſaid he had an order againſt a woman for robbing his factory, who lodged in her houſe, as he was informed and demanded admittance. She ſaid ſhe would not open her door at ſuch an hour. Witneſs and Mr. Jolly told her who they were, that they were her neighbours, and men not to be ſuſpected of robbing her—and that if ſhe did not open the door it would be broke open. She ſtill refuſed, but, at the inſtance of her landlady, after ſome time opened it. On entering the houſe they were told there was no one there but women. They procured a candle, and after ſome ſearch diſcovered the priſoner, who was wrapped in blankets, and under his wife in bed. On his ſitting up, his ſhirt and waiſtcoat were quite black, as witneſs ſuppoſed with ſoot, and from examining the chimney afterwards, he was confirmed in his opinion. Mr. Gordon offered to take the priſoner as an approver, but he perſiſted in his innocence. The next day witneſs and Mr. Gordon ſaw the priſoner in Newgate, when he offered to tell all he knew of the affair. Witneſs forbid him to make any confeſſion under the hope of a pardon, as Mr. Gordon would certainly proſecute him, which Mr. G. declared he would, as he conſidered him the greateſt villain of the gang. After a pauſe he acknowledged he met the robbers going there—that they informed him of what they were about—that he warned them againſt it—but was threatened by Tierney with having his brains blown out if he attempted to prevent them. Being aſked if he knew where the plate was, he ſaid he underſtood Mary Walſh, the woman who pointed him out had it—though he denied a few minutes before his having ever ſeen her.

Mr. Day then ſummed up the evidence, and after delivering a moſt excellent and impartial charge to the jury—in which juſtice and humanity were happily blended—they withdrew, and in about half an hour returned a verdict—Not Guilty.

Walſh received ſentence to be hanged in the vicinity of Fairview.

June 2.] A privy council was held in the Caſtle, when a proclamation was iſſued for allowing his majeſty's ſubjects in this kingdom to trade with the iſlands which have been lately taken from the French in the Weſt Indies.

4.] The ladies of the birth-day drawing-room were moſtly dreſſed in white crapes ornamented with embroidery. The caps were of the turban faſhion, of crape, with bandeaus of ſatin, embroidered with ſilver foil, or ornamented with ſilver wreaths.

Feathers were univerſally worn; four or five

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was in an head-dreſs, of different colours, moſtly half white, half lilac.

The hair dreſſed full with ſeveral curls of the ſide.—The head-dreſſes were likewiſe ornamented with creſcents, ſultanas and bandeaus of diamonds or pearls.

The faſhionable ear-rings were in double rings of filligree gold, mixed with brilliants, pearls, and enamel. The necklaces to ſuit. The latter were moſtly gold, or cornelions ſet in gold.

In the dreſſes, the only circumſtances worthy of remark were, that the prevailing colour among the gentlemen was green, of various ſhades, and among the ladies yellow.

The laſt new dreſſes in the *haut ton* are as follows:

Robe of muſlin, embroidered in ſilver, with a narrow flounce of the ſame; long ſleeves of white ſarſenet, trimmed at the wriſt with lace, and tied with yellow ribbands—the handkerchief of clear lawn, put in with the robe; ſaſh of ſilver tiſſue; yellow ſhoes.——Head-dreſs *a la Turque*, viz. the turban of ſilver, or glaſs gauze, the points falling to the bottom of the waiſt, the crown of ſcarlet velvet, in the front a large diamond pin, or gold heron, and four deep yellow oſtrich feathers; the hair drawn through the turban in light ringlets, brilliant ear-rings.

Chemiſe of white lawn, trimmed round the neck, and at the ends with lace, roſe coloured ſaſh and ſhoes.

Head-dreſs—a Scotch bonnet of roſe coloured ſatin, decorated with three rows of pearls, and two white feathers on the left ſide; the hair is in ringlets, ear-rings of pearl.

6.] A meeting took place in the Phenix-Park, between Mr. Metcalf, Dunlavin, attorney, and Mr. Collins, who reſides, we underſtand, in the town of Clonmel. It was occaſioned by ſome of the violent proceedings of late at Hyde's coffee-houſe. Ten yards were meaſured, the parties fired together. Mr. Metcalf's ball grazed Mr. Collins's ſide, whoſe ball in return entered Mr. Metcalf's left leg a little above the calf, he firing with the left hand. Surgeon Wright, who attended Mr. Metcalf, extracted the ball on the ſpot, and the ſeconds then interfering, the matter was happily adjuſted. Mr. Metcalf's wound is not in any great degree dangerous. Seconds: Mr. O'Brien for Mr. Metcalf; and Mr. Hearn for Mr. Collins.

7.] M'Dermott, convicted of a robbery in the county of Roſcommon, was taken from the New Jail, under a ſtrong eſcort, to Kilmainham, where he underwent the ſentence pronounced againſt him. The unhappy man was ſo overcome by the horrors of his ſituation, that he was nearly dead before the executioner performed his office.

L I B E L.

The King v. Doctor William Drennan.

King's Bench, June 25.] This was an indictment of nine counts againſt Dr. William Drennan, charging, that he being a perſon of malicious, ſeditious and turbulent diſpoſition, and maliciouſly deſigning and intending to excite and diffuſe amongſt the ſubjects of the realm diſcontents, diſaffections, and diſloyalty to the king and government—to raiſe very dangerous ſeditions and tumults—to draw the government into ſcandal, infamy, and diſgrace, and to incite his majeſty's ſubjects by force and arms to overturn the conſtitution, and to overawe the legiſlature, &c. &c. &c. did on the 17th and 20th days of December, 1792, publiſh a falſe, ſcandalous, and ſeditious libel, with intent to carry the before recited purpoſes into effect, contrary to the peace and ſtatute.

The libel was then ſet out, and appeared to be the ſame paper, purporting to be an addreſs of the Society of United Iriſhmen, for the publication of which A. H. Rowan, Eſq. was tried ſome time ſince, found guilty, and received ſentence of two years impriſonment, and a fine of 500l.

The caſe being a matter of expectation, the court was uncommonly crowded.

At about half paſt ten o'clock, Mr. Drennan was given in charge to the following jury:

Sir John Traile, foreman—Robert Alexander—Mark White—William Lindſay—Ben. Woodward—M. Bloxam—Peter Roe—William Beeby—Geoffry Foote—James Hamilton—William Little—William Galloway, Eſqrs.

Counſellor Ruxton, in a few words, opened the proſecution.

The Attorney General ſtated the caſe. He obſerved, in courſe of his argument, that the defence uſually ſet up in proſecutions for libels was a clamorous pretence of ſupporting the liberty of the preſs, and the conſtitutional right of free diſcuſſion on the conduct of government. He was as ready as any man to aſſert and maintain theſe privileges—he was convinced that the liberty of the preſs was the beſt guardian of the liberties of the people—and he would be the laſt man living to queſtion the indefeaſible right of the ſubject to a free and candid diſcuſſion on the conduct of government, and of proceeding by legal and conſtitutional means, to effect any reform in the mode of that government which might be neceſſary—but he conſidered the publication of dangerous and ſeditious libels, which have evidently for their object the diſſemination of diſcontent, and the excitement of tumult and anarchy, or the attainment of reform by force of arms, to be equally ſubverſive to the liberty of the preſs, and the rights and happineſs of the people. He that would deſtroy the liberty of the preſs, or attempt to encroach on the rights of the people on theſe points, would deſerve to be driven from ſociety; but in his mind, the preſs of the people had no enemies to dread, ſo formidable as theſe pretended friends, who would pervert the one to licentiouſneſs, and foment the other to ſedition.

The various political clubs, which had for a ſeries of time exiſted in this country, previous to the year 1791, each of which had their alternative ſeaſons of popularity and public odium, and the remnants of which all united into one club, in the year 1791, under the appellation of the Society of United Iriſhmen; theſe men ſeek-

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ing to raiſe their popularity and ſtrengthen their deſigns, left no artifice or pretence unexerted—that could accumulate acceſſion of numbers. Harmleſs, undeſigning citizens, innocent country farmers, giddy youths and doating age, were cajoled to join their ſociety, under a miſtaken notion of ſerving their country, while a few deſigning members, ſought nothing but a popularity, which might the better enable them to carry on their deſigns of ſubverting the preſent government, pulling the king from the throne, realizing in this country all the horrors which agitated France, and erecting a wild democracy on the ruins of our happy conſtitution.

He imputed the preſervation of the peace of the country to the proclamation ſo timely iſſued by government at the very moment when anarchy and rebellion were about to burſt upon our heads, while the publications iſſued by the United Iriſhmen from time to time, and eſpecially that now before the court, were not only diſtributed about town gratis, but diſperſed through all parts of the country in bales, in order to be diſtributed amongſt the peaſantry, to excite them to rebellion.

William Paulet Carey, late printer of the National Evening Star, in Dublin, being ſworn, he depoſed,

That he was a member of the United Iriſhmen—that their uſual nights of meeting were Fridays. That on Friday the 14th of December, 1792, he attended a meeting of the ſociety, at which Dr. Drennan acted as chairman; he believed, but could not ſwear, that A. H. Rowan was preſent; he heard Dr. Drennan read a manuſcript paper from the chair to the ſociety—which he believes to be the ſame as now ſet out in the indictment—he read it paragraph by paragraph, and put the queſtion on each, and the whole was agreed to by the ſociety, without any diſſenting voice that he could hear. His recollection of the other proceedings of the night is faint, but he had particular reaſon to remark this.

Dr. Drennan put another queſtion, that the addreſs do ſtand the Addreſs of the Society to the Volunteers of Ireland, which alſo paſſed affirmatively—and another, that it be printed in the Evening Poſt, National Evening Star, and Hibernian Journal, three times—which paſſed in the ſame way. Witneſs was then printer of the National Evening Star—and being about to leave the ſociety for the night, Dr. Drennan deſired him to copy into his paper the addreſs then paſſed from the Hibernian Journal of the following Monday, as he could not give him the manuſcript then, having another purpoſe for it—he accordingly did as directed on the following Tueſday, and re-publiſhed it on Thurſday. He ſent his apprentice Whitaker ſome time in the month of February for payment to Doctor Drennan, and he underſtands he was referred to Mr. Oliver Bond, treaſurer of the ſociety, who referred him to a Mr. Dillon—and that Whitaker brought him back the money. The paper from which he printed was cut up in pieees in delivering it to different Compoſitors, for expedition—and he did not know what became of it.

Croſs-examined by Mr. Curran.

He ſays he was a member of the ſociety; he had received a notice early in November, ſigned by the name of Lord Clonmell, of a proſecution being about to be commenced againſt him, and deſiring him to attend at the Attorney General's, to ſhew cauſe why an information ſhould be granted againſt him; that he did attend, and learned that the ground of proſecution was ſomething copied into his paper from the Northern Star; that he communicated the circumſtance to the ſociety—and they reſolved to defend him; in gratitude for which reſolve, he offered to publiſh all their proceedings gratis—but the ſociety refuſed to accept this office, alledging it was better the expence ſhould fall on the ſociety at large, than upon one individual. He ſays he thinks the object of the addreſs was to excite reſiſtance to the conſtituted authorities, and to effect reform by force of arms. He does not know that he thought ſo at the time, and he printed it knowing its contents, but believing that, as there were many lawyers of the ſociety, they would ſuffer nothing wrong or illegal to paſs them. He himſelf mentioned his intent to propoſe a motion for the ſociety to appear in arms, but the idea was reſiſted by Dr. Drennan, alledging, that the cauſe of the volunteers belonged to themſelves, and they were bound to defend their own honours. He conceived Dr. Drennan wiſhed to keep himſelf out of danger, and his object in the intended motion was, to try a touchſtone, in order to aſcertain characters; and he at length found the ſociety turned to a mere venal borough, to ſupport a few profeſſional men who were in want of practice. He offered to quit the country and not proſecute, if the ſociety would exonerate his bail, but they refuſed;—and he would not have proſecuted Doctor Drennan on this affair, but to ſave himſelf from the conſequences of a proſecution commenced againſt him for publiſhing the ſame addreſs.

Mr. Thomas M'Donnell, printer of the Hibernian Journal, and Mr. Ball, cotton manufacturer, were examined on behalf of the proſecution; and Mr. Traynor, Mr. Woloughan, and Surgeon Wright, on behalf of the traverſer, the laſt of whom poſitively contradicted the teſtimony of Mr. Carey.

Mr. Curran ſpoke to evidence above two hours and a half, on behalf of the traverſer, and was replied to by the Solicitor General and Prime Serjeant.

Lord Chief Juſtice Clonmell, with the greateſt candour and clearneſs, ſummed up the evidence, and laid down the law on the caſe.

His lordſhip was followed by Mr. Juſtice Downes and Mr. Juſtice Chamberlaine, who perfectly concurred in his lordſhip's opinion.

The jur retired for one hour, and at twelve o'clock returned their verdict—NOT GUILTY.

Counſel for the Crown.—The Prime Serjeant, the Attorney General, the Solicitor General, Mr. Frankland, and Mr. Ruxton.

Counſel for the Traverſer.—Mr. Fletcher, Mr. Curran, and Mr. Emmett.

The trial continued near 14 hours.

BIRTHS for *May and June.*

AT Killarney, co. of Kerry, the lady of lieut. col. L'Eſtrange, of a daughter.—At Caſtle Harriſon, county of Limerick, the lady of Henry Harriſon, Eſq. of a ſon and heir—In Hollis-ſtreet, the lady of Joſeph Walſh, eſq. of a ſon.—In Merrion-ſquare, the lady of Richard Griffith, of Milleſcent, county Kildare, eſq. of a ſon.—A woman, in the town of Headford, county of Galway, was ſafely delivered of three boys, the firſt was born on a Tueſday, the ſecond the Thurſday following, and the third in eight days after.—In Moleſworth ſtreet, the lady of George Stewart, eſq. ſurgeon general of Ireland, of a daughter.—In Merrion-ſtreet, the lady of the right honourable James Caulfield Browne, lord baron Kilmaine, of a ſon and heir.—In North Cumberland-ſtreet, the lady of Thomas M'Mahon, eſq. of a ſon and heir.—In Moleſworth-ſtreet, the lady of Joſeph Leathly, eſq. of a daughter.

MARRIAGES for *May and June.*

JAMES Ffyffe, of Eccles-ſtreet, eſq. to Miſs Steevens, daughter of Alexander Steevens, of Edinburgh, Eſq.—At Waterford, the honourable Francis Harvey Morres, half brother to lord viſcount Mountmorres and the marchioneſs of Antrim, to Miſs Read, of Colebeck-ſtreet.—At Tralee, county of Kerry, William Carrique Ponſonby, of Crotto, eſq. to Mrs. Harnett, relict of James Fuller Harnett, of Ahamore, eſq.—Samuel Power, of Affane, county of Waterford, eſq. to Miſs Browne, only daughter of the late ſir George Browne, of the Neale, baronet, and niece to the right hon. lord Kilmaine.——Paget Halpen, of Maryborough, Queen's county, eſq. to Miſs Delane, daughter of Solomon Delane, eſq.—At Bantry, ——— O'Connor, of Ardentenard, eſq. to Miſs Mary M'Carthy, daughter of Daniel M'Carthy, eſq.—Charles Franks, of Mallow, eſq. to Miſs Naſh, of Cork.—James Buſhel, of Ballvaughen, county of Tipperary, eſq. to Miſs Rebecca Corbett, daughter of James Corbett, eſq.

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DEATHS for *May and June.*

SIR Barry Denny, baronet, one of the knights of the ſhire for the county of Kerry.—At Limerick, Mrs. Monſell, relict of John Monſell, eſq.—Alſo Thomas Vincent, eſq.—At Cork, John Creagh, eſq.—Mrs. Stokes, relict of the late rev. Dr. Thomas Stokes, rector of Ray, in the dioceſe of Rapho, and formerly one of the Senior Fellows of Trinity-College.—In Clarendon-ſtreet, aged 76, Mathew Walker, eſq.—At Ballymahon, county Longford, Mrs. Johnſon, lady of Peyton Johnſon, eſq.—At Cloyne, the right rev. Dr. Richard Woodward, lord biſhop of Cloyne.—At the Blue Coat Hoſpital, John Wilſon, eſq. one of the ſheriffs peers of this city, ſincerely regretted.—On Ranelagh-road, William Alexander Engliſh, eſq. many years a repreſentative in parliament for the borough of Enniſcorthy.—Mrs. Trulock, lady of Alderman Trulock, of St. Andrew's-ſtreet.—At Mardyke, county of Cork, James Morriſſon, eſq. lieutenant colonel of the true blues, and one of the aldermen of Cork.—In Tipperary, Jeremiah Dwyer, eſq. aged 78 years, one of the oldeſt attornies in the courts.—Mrs. Woods, mother to Edward Woods, eſq. one of the ſix clerks in the high court of chancery.—At Stratford, county of Wicklow, Mrs. Maxwell, lady of counſellor Maxwell, of William-ſtreet. In Pruſſia-ſtreet, Thomas Hinds, late of Bruce-Hall, county of Cavan, eſq.—At Kilkenny, Wm. Connell, eſq. aged 35, formerly a lieutenant in the 14th light dragoons.—At Ballymote, county of Sligo, the rev. Mr Dunlevy. In Cork, Mrs. Leo, relict of the late Stephen Leo, of the county of Limerick, eſq. aged 98; ſhe could read without ſpectacles, and was up the day ſhe died.—At Martinique, Hugh Taylor, eſq. 2d ſon to Richard Taylor, of Hollypark, eſq.—At Killenane, county of Carlow, John Humphreys, eſq.——Near London, Thomas Crawford, eſq barriſter at law, formerly manager of the theatre royal, Crow ſtreet, and ſon of Nicholas Crawford, eſq. barrack-maſter of Philipſtown, Tullumore, &c.—At Newtownlimavady, William Roſs, eſq.—In Dorſet-ſtreet, Mrs. Eliza Murray, relict of the late Stewart Murray, of Dungannon, eſq. brother to the vice provoſt of Trinity College—In Dawſon-ſtreet, Edward Scriven, eſq. an eminent attorney, and law agent to the city of Dublin.

PROMOTIONS for *May and June.*

THE right hon. lord viſcount Headfort, elected a knight of the ſhire for the county of Meath, in the room of his grandfather the late right hon. Hercules Langford Rowley.—Alderman Richard Moncrieffe, elected lord mayor, Richard Manders, of James's-ſtreet, and Robert Powell, of Thomas-ſtreet, Eſqrs. elected high ſheriffs of the city of Dublin for the enſuing year, commencing 29th September next.—Henry Wheeler, and John Burke Fitzſimons, Eſqrs. to be inſpectors general of exciſe in the city of Dublin.—Denis George, Eſq. recorder of the city of Dublin, to be one of the barons of his majeſty's court of Exchequer in Ireland.—The right hon. Denis Browne, and the hon. John Wandesford Butler, elected aldermen of the city of Kilkenny.—Robert Hart, Eſq. ſon of alderman Hart, elected agent and regiſter to the King's-Hoſpital, Oxmantown, (John Wilſon, Eſq. deceaſed).—William Walker, Eſq. elected recorder of the honourable city of Dublin, (Denis George, Eſq. promoted to be one of the barons of his majeſty's court of Exchequer in Ireland).—Major-general Charles Euſtace, to be one of the generals on the ſtaff of Ireland.—Edward Fiſher, Eſq. elected law agent to the honourable city of Dublin, (Edward Scriven, Eſq. deceaſed).—Mr. T. Allen, elected clerk to the common council of the city of Dublin.—Mr. Uſher, elected one of the Fellows of Trinity-college, Dublin.—Anſelm Nugent, Eſq. to be one of the inſpectors-general of barracks.—The right hon. earl Carhampton, to be one of the generals on the ſtaff of Ireland.—B. Finucane, Eſq. to be one of the judges of his majeſty's court of King's Bench in Ireland, (hon. Joſ. Hewitt deceaſed).

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TO THE

HIBERNIAN MAGAZINE;

OR,

Compendium of Entertaining Knowledge,

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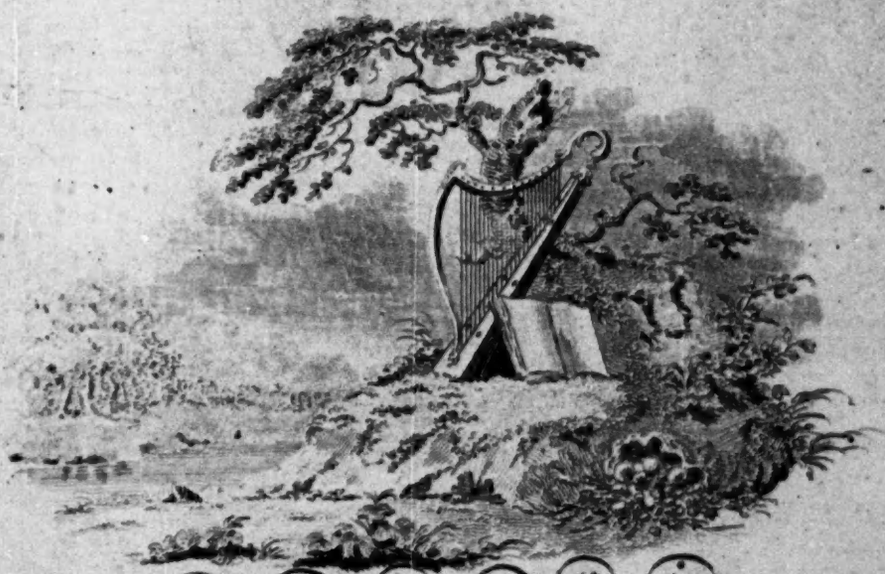

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